

Trade in America B.

A.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
REVOLT AND INSURRECTION
IN THE
ISLAND OF GRENADA.

BY GORDON TURNBULL. *K*

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

..... IF THIS BE LIBERTY,
MAY HEAVEN, IN MERCY, KEEP ME STILL A SLAVE!

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1796.

NAVY
HONORARY
IN THE
OFFICE OF
RECORDS



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE favourable reception which the following Narrative has met with, where the Author could only have hoped for indulgence, has encouraged him to set his name to the work in its present enlarged state.

The importance of the subject, will, he trusts, compensate for any defects in its arrangement, or errors in its composition. To describe events not generally known, and to point out their more remote, as well as immediate causes, were the Author's motives for undertaking a task, which certainly was neither pleasant nor easy in the execution.

To the friends and relatives of those unfortunate men, whose melancholy fate is recorded in the following pages, the work is most respectfully dedicated.

REVOLT IN GRENADA.

INTRODUCTION.

A PAMPHLET has been published in Grenada, entitled, "A Review of the Events which have happened in that Island to the 1st day of May last." It is evidently the production of a sensible and humane writer; but, besides its being in few hands in this country, it has been thought in some particulars very defective, and in others, perhaps, unnecessarily diffuse. The author of the following simple Narrative, will not presume to say that it is altogether free from the first objection; but he has endeavoured to avoid the last, by frequently leaving it to the reader to make such comments, or to deduce such inferences, as might be supposed to arise

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naturally out of the relation of the facts themselves. These are all such as either fell within his own knowledge, or such as are given to the public on the testimony of others, who were also present on the spot, and had the best opportunities of gaining the most authentic and clearest information. Besides the obligations he owes to these friends, he has to acknowledge, that several of the letters and other documents which were thought necessary to elucidate the Narrative, and therefore added in an Appendix, are taken from the pamphlet above mentioned.

The author is not without some apprehensions, that by endeavouring to avoid the charge of prolixity, he may have run into another error, the want of sufficient perspicuity; but he found that he was quite unequal to the task of giving a minute detail of military operations, his profession not being that of arms; and neither his leisure nor his abilities would serve him to do justice to the zeal, activity and gallant conduct of many individuals, both in the regular troops and militia,

militia, who highly distinguished themselves on several occasions, and especially in some skirmishes with the enemy, the particular circumstances of which it was impossible for him to be fully acquainted with.

Some of the dreadful events which are recorded in the following pages, will probably be torturing to humanity. From such shocking scenes, which appear to the writer, on looking back, like a tumultuous and frightful dream, the mind turns for relief to the most disastrous revolutions in Europe, occasioned by the same malignant spirit of Anarchy! The troubles in Grenada, in consequence of its capture in the last war, when considered comparatively with the horrid enormities and deliberate murders which have been committed by the barbarous insurgents in that island, were mildness, gentleness, and peace! But the dire effects of a system to remove all distinctions, and to break all ties human and divine, have not been confined to this once flourishing and valuable colony. In St Vincent, the Carraibs

raibs were also incited to revolt, by the instigations of the emissaries of the infamous Victor Hugues, the chief Commissioner of the French Republic at Guadeloupe. But the effusion of much blood was undoubtedly prevented, by Governor Seton's having received intelligence of what had happened in Grenada, some days before the revolt of the Carraibs broke out. This interesting and alarming account gave time for preparation, and confirmed the too well-grounded suspicions entertained of these treacherous savages. Happily, the slaves in general in St Vincent were not attached to French customs and manners, like those in Grenada, and, ignorant of the language, could not therefore be so easily seduced by the emissaries above mentioned from their duty and allegiance. They possessed a kind of rooted animosity to the Carraibs, whom they considered as rivals in the commerce of such articles as their gardens produced, and perhaps as a ferocious, and an inferior race of beings. It was not less owing to the assistance of those faithful and hardy auxiliaries,

auxiliaries, than to the spirited exertions of the militia and military, that the enemy was defeated in almost every engagement that took place in St Vincent. It is greatly to be lamented, however, that several of its bravest and most valued inhabitants have fallen. It is just necessary to add, that from the evacuation of St Lucia by his Majesty's troops, an event as unexpected as perhaps it was unavoidable, the Brigands, it is to be apprehended, would be enabled to send fresh reinforcements from time to time to their *new allies*, the Carraibs, who would otherwise have been soon totally subdued.

In Dominica, a considerable party of the Brigands of Guadaloupe having effected a landing, on a part where they were fortunately hemmed in both by sea and land, were forced to lay down their arms, after a few had been killed by our troops. Too much praise cannot be given to the Commander in Chief, and the inhabitants, as well as the regular troops, for their brave and judicious conduct on that occasion.

But

But not being competent to treat of matters which relate more immediately to other islands, it is time for the author to proceed to those of Grenada. In this unfortunate colony, many untoward and unforeseen accidents have happened, to impede the success of our arms, and to prevent the execution of the very spirited and well concerted plans of the President (Mr Mackenzie) on whom the command devolved, after the unfortunate capture of Lieutenant-Governor Home.

Before proceeding to the narrative of particular events, it may not be improper to inquire into the more remote, as well as immediate causes which produced them. In endeavouring to trace this horrid rebellion to its source, the mind is lost in astonishment and doubt. We contemplate, with equal indignation and surprise, the conduct of such of the *new subjects* (as the French inhabitants of Grenada were denominated) who possessed valuable property in the island, and, compared with their deluded countrymen under the new-modelled government of France, might be said

said to enjoy ease and perfect freedom ;— yet joined, or abetted, a band of the vilest miscreants, in the perpetration of the blackest crimes ! thereby forfeiting all the blessings which they had experienced for a length of time under a mild and well-poised constitution, in common with his Majesty's British-born subjects.

But we can more readily account for the defection of those of desperate fortunes, or of turbulent and malignant dispositions, differing only in colour from the *banditti* with whom they enlisted themselves, under the banner of rapine, treason and murder. Among these, there were several emissaries of the French republic, who had, in the commencement of the troubles in the French islands, emigrated from thence to Grenada, where, under the cloak of loyalty, and of suffering for its sake, they too easily found an asylum, and were received with that generous compassion which is the particular characteristic of the British nation. But at length those dangerous guests were justly suspected by our late worthy Lieutenant-Governor, of propagating

propagating doctrines inimical to the peace of society; and, in conformity to an act of the island against vagabonds, were by him ordered to depart in a certain limited time. This order, however, some of them contrived to elude, by the aid of the proselytes whom they had gained, and remained concealed till the breaking out of the revolt.

The general insurrection of the slaves which soon followed, was undoubtedly the work of the same insidious instruments, employed in spreading the flame of rebellion; disseminating discord, confusion and anarchy, in the minds of all who were susceptible of receiving the impression. Unfortunately for the island of Grenada, there were but too many of this description among the negroes; and the French language being the prevailing one with them, contributed greatly to the seduction and ruin of by far the greatest part. The system of *liberty and equality*, calculated *ad captandum vulgus*, was most excellently adapted to the capacities of those people undoubtedly. Many among
them,

them, however, hesitated in the beginning of the insurrection to take any active part; but most were afterwards induced to join in it, by the tempting bait held out to them, of sharing in the plunder of the property of their masters, as well as obtaining emancipation from their service.

It is worthy of remark in this place, that the favourite domestics, drivers, tradesmen, and other principal slaves on estates; in short, those who had been most trusted, and best treated, both men and women, were the first to join, and the most active in the insurrection. This must certainly appear extraordinary to some of the good people in this country, who conceive that the *tyranny* of the West India planters to their slaves is the cause of all insurrections. But this ungrateful dereliction of the *higher order* of the negroes must be attributed, in a great measure, to the connexion which subsisted between them and the free coloured people. The field negroes, or those employed in the culture of the ground, and particularly the *African* negroes who had not been long in the island, and

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whose

whose minds had not yet imbibed the baleful principles of the *system* already mentioned, were the last to associate with the insurgents. Indeed, many of these poor people remained faithful to their duty; at least they took no active part on the side of the enemy, concealing themselves, after their houses were burnt, in the skirts of the woods, or in their own adjacent gardens. From these lurking-places they ventured to come down to the posts which our troops afterwards established on the sea coast; and on some estates near to these posts they had renewed their usual occupations. But, without such allowance of provisions as had been dealt out to them before the troubles began, it cannot be expected that they will continue to work, even in rebuilding their own houses, or in the cultivation of their own grounds. Here, it may not be improper to observe, that these objects ought to be the first care of the Planters, as soon as tranquillity shall be restored to the colony; and the usual quantities of provisions, negro-clothing, and plantation-utensils,

files, ought to be sent from this country as speedily as possible, for very obvious reasons. It will undoubtedly require the most prudent management, and the most humane, but, at the same time, steady and determined conduct and resolution, on the part of those who shall be entrusted with the direction of estates in Grenada, as the long habits of idleness and plundering, and the licence of roaming about from place to place, have almost ruined many of the slaves for every good and useful purpose.

With respect to the more remote causes of the revolt, it may be sufficient to remark, that its principal source was most indubitably in the great number of French inhabitants of every description, who were admitted, first as *capitulants*, or afterwards on various other pretences, to settle in Grenada. That ill-fated island may be said to have cherished a viper in her bosom, that has at length stung her to the heart. But though in general the French inhabitants entertained sentiments and principles inimical to the government, it were

were unjust and uncharitable to impute an equal degree of guilt or treason to all. Suspicion, however, will in future be attached to almost every Frenchman; and none but those who have given the most unequivocal proofs of their loyalty, ought ever to be permitted to reside under the British Flag, either in Britain, or in any of her colonies.—But it is time to proceed to the narrative. On the present occasion, the Author finds the observation of an ingenious writer to be very just, ‘That a real concern is not only a hindrance to speaking, but to writing too.’ The sensible affliction he feels for the events which he attempts to describe, for misfortunes in which he has shared, and, above all, for the irreparable loss of friends whom he much valued, is the best apology he can make for the imperfections in point of composition which may be found in this little work.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLT.

It was probably owing to the success of the Republican arms in Guadaloupe, that the free coloured people, and other malcontents in Grenada conceived the design of subverting the government, and murdering all the British inhabitants. The plantation called Belvidere, belonging to a mulatto named *Julien Fedon*, in the very centre of the island, was the place where the conspirators met; and from the inaccessible nature of the ground, was thought the most eligible for forming a camp. Fedon, though of mean abilities, had influence enough to be chosen their chief; and two of the band were dispatched to Guadaloupe to concert measures with *Hugues*, and the other Republican commissioners in that island. These messengers, *Charles Nogues*, and *Jean Pierre la Valette*, both of very depraved characters, returned a few days before the insurrection broke out, and landed at Charlotte.

Charlotte Town, commonly called *Gouyave*, with some arms and ammunition, liberty caps, (*bonnet rouge*) and national cockades. They brought with them a flag too, on which the words '*Liberté, Égalité, ou la Mort*,' were inscribed in large characters. They were furnished with commissions signed *Hugues*, *Goyrand*, and *Le Bas*, appointing *Julien Fedon* Commandant General, *Stanislaus Besson* (a mulatto silver-smith in Grenville) second in command, and themselves captains in the French republican service. The commissioners at Guadaloupe had also promised them the most speedy and effectual support, and sent with them the declaration which accompanied that of Fedon by the first flag of truce, as will presently be shewn.

It does not appear that they had formed any design of attacking the forts or the town of St George; for, though the number of troops in the forts was but small, the insurgents could not flatter themselves with any prospect of succeeding in the attempt, as the militia in the town had been furnished with arms out of the arsenal but

a few days before, by order of Lieutenant-Governor Home; who, it is certain, had received some intimation of an intended invasion by the republican forces at Guadaloupe, but no notice whatever of any plot on the part of the French inhabitants, as has been erroneously suggested by some people. That he expected an invasion, or that he wished to be prepared for such an event, may be concluded from his having sent orders, about ten days previous to the event which took place, to the commanding officers of the different regiments of militia, to require the captains under them to hold themselves in readiness to march with their respective companies at a moment's warning.

The night of the 2d of March was appointed for the execution of the plot. The small towns of Grenville and Charlotte Town, on different sides of the island, were taken possession of nearly at the same hour, in the middle of the night, by different parties. We shall begin with the relation of what happened at Grenville, commonly called *La Baye*. About one

one hundred of the Brigands, or coloured free people, chiefly inhabitants of the parishes of St Andrew and St Patrick, mostly armed with muskets, surrounded the town, and about one hour after midnight began to break open the doors of the dwelling-houses and stores. On some of the astonished inhabitants looking out at the windows, they were immediately fired upon; and in this way Mr Ferror, a merchant in the town, was mortally wounded. They then entered into the chambers of the devoted victims, and, dragging them out into the streets, set them up as marks to be shot at. After they fell, their bodies were shockingly mangled by the most inhuman of the banditti, who were armed with cutlasses. Thus fell the much lamented Captain Blair of the Home, then lying in Grenville Bay. He happened to sleep on shore that night, and, on the first alarm, came out of his own room into that of Mr Murray, at whose house he lodged, when, looking out of the window, he called to the people on board his ship, and the Flying
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ing Fish, another armed vessel, to fire. This order was perhaps not distinctly heard, at least it was not complied with; and it is matter of regret that it was not, as it might have prevented the completion of the work of *horror* which followed. Out of fifteen English inhabitants then in the town, eleven were butchered! Messrs Smith and Hurst, masters of vessels lying in the harbour, escaped the massacre by swimming on board, but were both badly wounded. They afterwards recovered. They had been at the house of the pilot, Mr M'Dowal, on the hill, which was broke into by a party of the insurgents, who seized the pilot, his assistant, and a white boy. Mrs M'Dowal escaped into the cane-field contiguous to the house. Her husband was carried to the rebels' camp; but the assistant pilot and the boy were murdered in the way to it, because they could not march quickly. The work of plundering the stores followed that of blood. In this they were joined by many of the slaves of the estates in the neighbourhood, who marched off towards the

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mountains

mountains with the murderers, as soon as day began to appear, loaded with booty. This sanguinary band was headed by Fedon himself, accompanied by Besson, La Valette commanded a party that had marched from St Patrick's, commonly called *Sauteurs*, to join that of Fedon. It is probable, that Fedon acted in this barbarous manner, to prevent his associates from deserting him, as they could have no hope of pardon by the resentment which the effusion of blood would naturally create in the mind of every British inhabitant. He wished too, perhaps, to spread terror over all descriptions of men; and unhappily it had all the effect that he could have wished! The impression was general; and the minds of many, who have since given the most incontestible proofs of the greatest courage and resolution, were filled with consternation, on hearing the dreadful report of the massacre. It was quickly carried to St George's, and to every quarter of the island, with the additional fabricated intelligence, that *some thousands of the French had landed.*

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In marching up to the camp at Belvidere, Fedon was joined by many of the negroes, and by some of the French *white* inhabitants. The main body of the insurgents made no halt till they got to the estate of M. de Poulain, called Balthazar; but parties were sent everywhere, to summon, or to bring in the inhabitants to the camp. One of these parties went to the house of Mr Rose, who being an active and upright magistrate, was therefore, perhaps, a marked object of their resentment. But whether it was by the order of Fedon, or owing to a remnant of humanity in the leader of this detachment, no murder was committed on this occasion. On the first alarm, two sisters of Mrs Rose, who happened to be there on a visit, seized with the most dreadful apprehensions, ran out of their own room into that of their sister, whom they found in a state of terror and distress not to be described, clinging to her husband, and embracing her child by turns, till the insurgents broke into the apartment, and tore Mr Rose from her arms. The ladies, however,

however, were not insulted ; and this party confined their depredations in the house to the taking away Mrs Rose's watch, and some articles of plate. Mr Rose was then put upon a horse (being only in his shirt), and conducted to Balthazar, about two miles distant. At this plantation, Fedon's party, now become formidable in numbers, were supplied with sugar and rum by the manager, one *Charpentier*, who, there is sufficient reason to believe, was privy to the insurrection previous to its breaking out. This execrable traitor immediately joined the insurgents. The *Abbé Peissonier*, who resided here as the attorney or representative of Mr de Poullain, then absent in England, professed contrary principles to those of Charpentier, and therefore was put to death by La Valette. The reason given by the villain for this act of wanton barbarity was, the Abbé's being an *aristocrat*, which, he said, must be inferred from that good man's having humanely furnished Mr Rose with a great coat and a pair of trousers. From Balthazar they marched to Belvidere,

Belvidere, by the coffee estates of Renaud, Du Parquet, and Peschier ; and that day, or the next, almost every Frenchman in that part of the island obeyed the summons of Fedon, and followed him to his camp.

Here, it may not be uninteresting to give some account of Mr Murray's wonderful escape out of the chamber, from which the assassins took the unfortunate Captain Blair, as has been before-noticed. Mr Murray, on hearing them ascend the stair, went behind the curtain of his bed ; and the insurgents imagining, perhaps, that it was Captain Blair's bed-chamber, did not make any further search. As soon as they had left the room, he made his way through a window into an adjoining storehouse ; from thence in a little time he ventured to sally out, and, leaping over a palisaded fence, got into a swamp on the back or west part of the town. In this swamp, Mr Murray remained for eighteen hours in his shirt, immersed to the middle in mud and water. At ten o'clock the next night, (3d March) the

the moon shining bright, he explored his way to the road which led to St George's by the mountains, still imagining the insurgents had possession of Grenville; and after a most fatiguing march, partly by by-paths to avoid an enemy, he arrived at day-break near the house of a Mr *Noisette*, within three miles of St George's. This gentleman was up, and perceiving a stranger travelling in such a miserable plight, (Mr Murray's shirt having been by this time much torn by brambles and bushes), he very humanely sent his son to offer him some more decent covering, and likewise some refreshment, which Mr Murray, almost quite exhausted, thankfully accepted, and afterwards pursued his journey to St George's, which he reached about eight o'clock in the morning of the 4th *.—Mr Ireland, a clerk in the same house

* The reader will be surprised to be informed, that this Mr *Noisette*, who could thus exercise the virtues of charity and hospitality to a stranger, did actually join the insurgents the same day! But of him, and of some others even among the French, as well as some of our own unhappy countrymen, it may be said—*they knew not what they did.*

house with Mr Murray, escaped, by concealing himself under a mattress, which he had thrown between the roofs of two adjoining houses. But the fate of a young gentleman, Mr Lindsey, a clerk to Mr Ferrer, is most affecting. Having made his escape into an adjacent field of canes, he remained there, without any other nourishment than the canes, for more than a month! He was then forced to quit the place of his concealment, by the canes being set on fire, and was taken by the incendiaries, and carried to Fedon's camp in a most deplorable condition. His life was spared *on that occasion*, at the intercession of *Delambue*, one of the revolted subjects lately come in.

At Charlotte Town, the steps of the insurgents were not marked with blood, like those of the other party at Grenville. The leaders of the *St John's* gang, composed chiefly of the free coloured people of that parish, were named *Ettienne Ventour*, and *Joachim Philip*. These men contented themselves with ordering the inhabitants, whom they surprised in their beds, to be conducted

conducted on foot under a strong guard to the camp at Belvidere. The wives and children of the prisoners were permitted to remain at an estate, about one mile above the town. Mr Wilson and Dr Muir were the only English inhabitants there who escaped being taken. The insurgents kept possession of Charlotte Town, after plundering it; and, next day, a most unfortunate event added greatly to the darkness of the cloud that hung over every good subject. The Lieutenant-Governor and Mr A. Campbell, had come from St George's to Paraclete (within three miles of Grenville) the day before. On the morning of the 3d, hearing a very confused report of what had happened, Mr Campbell mounted his horse, and came to Paradise estate, where he found several of the militia already assembled (among whom was the writer of these pages) with whom he entered the town, and there beheld a scene, over which the author must be permitted to draw a veil, in order to spare both the reader and himself the painful description. Mr Campbell immediately returned

returned to Paraclete, and with the Governor set out for St George's by the way of St Patrick's. They called at Mr Farquhar's, and finding a sloop lying in the bay, conceived it most eligible to go by sea to St George's. Accordingly, those three gentlemen, accompanied by Mr A. Ker and Mr Le Pelley, embarked in the sloop, and immediately set sail. On coming off Charlotte Town, they were fired at from the fort; and a vessel, which they took for a French privateer, appearing at the same instant to be making towards them, every person on board, except the master, hesitated, whether they should endeavour to escape, by making the best of their way in the sloop to St George's, or go ashore in the boat, and trust to the mercy of an enemy, from whom, if they had reflected but a moment, they could expect none. This last resolution was unhappily adopted, and they went ashore. The master, however, remained on board, and, laying himself down close to the helm, steered his little vessel out of the reach of the guns, and

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brought

it safely to St George's. The first certain information respecting the fate of the Lieutenant-Governor and his fellow-sufferers, was brought by this man, who shewed the greatest presence of mind on this occasion, and, it is said, remonstrated against the measure of trusting themselves on shore. But, alas! there are times when the firmest mind loses all its fortitude—when its faculties are deprived of all their energy, and become as it were rivetted, and incapable of action. The behaviour of those respectable characters, who thus fell into the hands of savage barbarians, and were directly conducted to the camp of their exulting chief, affords ample room for such unpleasing reflections. The same infatuation, or, it may be called, fatality, appears to have actuated the conduct of several other worthy and deserving characters in that part of the island, whose names appear among those who signed the letter sent by the second flag of truce. Having fled from their houses on the first rumour of the massacre at Grenville, and, as it was said, of French troops
having

having landed, they endeavoured to reach St Patrick's, where the militia might be supposed to make a stand; but as the whole country round them was in possession of the enemy, they saw no prospect of escaping, and therefore threw themselves on the clemency of one, who had always appeared of a friendly disposition towards the English, and was much respected by them, but had now followed the example of his relative *Clozier Darcueil*, and every Frenchman in that quarter, and abetted the insurgents. By the persuasion of *Clozier St Marie*, they accompanied him to Belvidere, where they were immediately confined in the same building with all those who had been taken prisoners. It ought to be mentioned here, that the insurgents had made prisoners several managers and overseers of plantations in the neighbourhood of Charlotte Town, and carried them to their camp, along with those they had taken in the town itself.

ST GEORGE'S.

ON the first rumour which reached this place about 10 o'clock in the morning of the 3d of March, by a failor who had been travelling across the country, 'that the French had landed at *La Baye*, and were marching towards St George's,'—the whole town became a scene of tumult, terror and confusion. A Board of his Majesty's Council was immediately called by the Honourable Mr Mackenzie, as the senior resident member, and the island was put under martial law. A letter was brought before noon to Mr Byles, from Lieutenant-Governor Home, by a messenger whom he had dispatched from Paraclete early in the morning, containing the same imperfect report of what had happened at Grenville.

The President, with the advice of the Council, immediately sent intelligence by express-boats to the Commanders in Chief of his Majesty's land and sea forces, the
Governor

Governor of St Vincent, and the Captains of any of his Majesty's ships these boats might fall in with. The following letter was dispatched to his Excellency *Don Cbacon*, Governor of Trinidad, by Joseph Beete, Esq. Secretary, by order of the Board.

" St George's, Grenada, 3d March 1795.

" SIR,

" I AM very sorry to acquaint your Excellency, that we have just received intelligence of a French force having landed to windward of this island last night, having taken the town of La Baye, and massacred many inhabitants. The danger of their being joined by some of our own republican French subjects, induces us to make application for every assistance; and, from the immediate vicinity of your Government, we trust you may be enabled to afford us some. The whole expedition consisting only of privateers, a naval force, if it consisted only of a frigate or sloop of war, sent instantly, might save the island. The alliance between our respective

spective Courts, added to our perfect knowledge of your Excellency's private character, induces us to depend upon every exertion in a moment pregnant with so much danger, as well to the Spanish as the British colonies.

" I have the honour to be," &c.

Another letter from Governor Home to his Secretary, Mr Byles, was brought soon after, written at La Fortune estate, near St Patrick's, at half past eight o'clock, A. M. of which the following is an extract. " No French have landed at La Baye; but the free people have risen against the whites. Captain Blair, and several are killed. I shall be in town as soon as possible. Order an alarm to be fired; and I think the coloured people ought not to have their arms, or, at least, none except Captain Grenade's company. I go from hence by water."

On the same day while the Council was sitting, the master of the sloop in which the Governor, and the other gentlemen already mentioned, had embarked, brought
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the account of their unfortunate capture. On receiving this information, it became incumbent on his Honour the President to assume the command; a task that, at such a critical period, required judgment, resolution and abilities equal to his. The following proclamation was immediately issued.

" GRENADA.

" By the KING.

" A PROCLAMATION.

" K. F. Mackenzie.

" WHEREAS an insurrection has broke out in this our colony of Grenada, which has distinguished itself in its commencement by the most horrid acts of savage barbarity; and whereas there is strong reason to believe, that it has been excited by the machinations of a very few individuals, joined, in a moment of delusion, by others of a different description, who are interested in the welfare of a colony, under whose mild government and laws, affording equal protection to every individual, they have long enjoyed every comfort;

fort; and who, seeing how much they have been misled, may be, upon maturer consideration, anxious to return to their duty: Influenced by such considerations and motives of humanity, We have therefore thought fit, by and with the consent of his Honour Kenneth Francis Mackenzie, Esquire, President, and the Members of Our Council for the said island, to publish this Our royal proclamation, declaring a general pardon and amnesty to all persons concerned in the said insurrection, upon their surrendering themselves, excepting only to those individuals who have committed the cruel and unmanly murders that have so disgracefully characterized the conduct of some of the said insurgents: And We do hereby further declare, that unless they accept this offered clemency, the most rigorous measures shall be instantly pursued against them; and we do hereby offer a reward of twenty Johannes's to any person bringing in any of the said insurgents either dead or alive.

“ Given

" Given at St George's, this fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and in the thirty-fifth year of Our reign.

" GOD SAVE THE KING!

" By his Honour's command,

" MATHER BYLES."

Next day (the 4th), about ten o'clock A. M. the two mulattoes, Charles Nogues and Joachim Philip, came in with a flag of truce, and were conducted to the Council, then sitting. They brought a declaration from Fedon, of which the following is a translation.

" DECLARATION

" Of Julien Fedon, General of the French Republican Forces, and the Officers at present in its Service,

" To the Commander for the time being of the Forts and Island of Grenada, or others having command of the same.

" WITHOUT entering into any detail of our rights, we summon you, and all the
E inhabitants;

inhabitants, of every denomination, in this colony, to surrender, within the space of *two hours*, to the republican forces under our command. We warrant the safety of your lives and property; but, respecting the last, referring it to what may be more fully declared by the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention in the Windward Islands. And we give you notice, that in case of your not submitting, as you are enjoined, you shall be liable to all the scourges of a disastrous war; and that all persons whomsoever that shall be taken in arms, or who shall not have joined the National Flag in such time as we shall judge fit (but without the smallest delay), shall be punished with death, and their estates burnt, and the land confiscated to the use of the Republic. We farther give you notice, that by the success which has already attended our arms in this colony, the tyrant Home, lately Governor of the island, Alexander Campbell, and a great number of the English, having been made our prisoners, that their heads, and the heads of all others,

others, shall answer for the conduct of those in authority, and this without delay, in case of refusal to surrender or submit as above-mentioned: Promising protection to our *brothers and friends*, who shall behave as they ought to do on this occasion. And we also declare, that if any of our said brothers or friends shall become the victims, or receive any ill treatment on the part of the English, that such ill treatment shall be retaliated doubly upon each prisoner, and death by that of two Englishmen, as it is announced in the Declaration hereunto joined, by the National Commissioners to the Commanders in Chief of the British forces, to which we further refer you.

“ Done at our Camp, the fourth of March, in the third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

“ JULIEN FEDON.

“ BESSON, *Officer of the Republic, appointed at Guadaloupe.*”

P. S.

" P. S. This will be delivered to you by Citizen Charles Nogues, my aide-camp."

The Declaration which accompanied the above was in English, as follows.

" DECLARATION

" Of the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention of France, to the Commanders in Chief of the British Forces, Vaughan, Caldwell, Thompson, Stewart, and Lindsay.

" TIME, and the defeat of the English forces at Guadaloupe, had weakened the remembrance of the heinous crimes by which the vile satellites of George had sullied the Windward Islands.

" It might reasonably have been expected, that the sudden recal of the infamous Grey and Jervis, should have made their successors aware of such cruelties, and engaged them to keep a conduct quite the reverse : but we have been mistaken.

" They

“ They prove to be as barbarous as those above named cannibals. They have lately ordered to be put to death some soldiers of the Republic, prisoners in St Lucia. Cruelties like these call forcibly upon us to avenge our brothers, and to make use of reprisals.

“ In consequence of which, we do hereby give solemn notice to the commanders in chief of the British forces in the Windward Islands, that, from and after the date of this our official declaration, the assassination of each and every individual Republican (of whatever colour he is, and in whatever island it may happen) shall be expiated by the death of two English officers, our prisoners. The guillotine shall, at the first notice thereof, perform this act of justice.

“ We do further declare, That any Frenchman, who, at the moment of the landing of an army of the Republic, commanded by one of us, or by any of our substitutes, shall not join against our common enemy, is outlawed, and his property forfeited to the Republic.

“ All

“ All those Frenchmen are declared traitors to their country, who have accepted of any employment under the English government. The law having already pronounced against those who emigrated before the capture of the colonies, as well as against the wretches who delivered them up, and who are in the same predicament with those that sold Toulon and the island of Corsica, where the Punic faith of the English shone in its full lustre; and this law, which inflicts the pain of death, shall here continue in full force.

“ We do further signify to all the commanders and agents of the British Government, that Citizen Marinier, commander at St Lucia, is an officer in the French service, and that the Citizens Massadi, Lieutenant in the Navy, and Lambert, are our delegates in that island, and invested with our power.

“ We have ordered this our present declaration to be sent by a flag of truce to the above mentioned commanders of the British forces, and to be translated into English.

English, and distributed in all the colonies.

" Port of Liberty, the 3d day of Ventose, (the 21st of February, style of the slaves) in the third year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

" VICTOR HUGUES.

" GOYRAND, et

" LE BAS."

To the summons of Fedon and Besson, the following Answer was given, and their *extraordinary* messengers were blindfolded and conducted to some distance from the town by a party of the militia troop of light cavalry.

" His honour the President, and Council of Grenada, having received a paper styled a Declaration, signed Julien Fedon and Besson, purporting to be a summons to the Commanding Officer of the island of Grenada, to surrender the same to the arms of the French republic, are induced, by considerations of humanity, and feeling for the blindness and delusions of some British subjects, who have been misled

led by the artifices of a few evil-minded persons on the one part, and by a just attention to the situation of a number of individuals who have unfortunately fallen into their hands, on the other—to state as follows :

“ That a number of unhappy subjects of his Britannic Majesty, having been deluded by some evil-minded persons as before mentioned, the President and Council take this mode of warning them to return to their duty, violated in every degree, and particularly, by retaining in their hands the lawful Governor of the island—and of assuring them, that they will receive the punishment of their crimes, as awarded by the just laws of their country, if they fail in so doing ; and further, that, if they should be so far blinded to their loyalty and duty, as in any degree to injure those whom chance has unfortunately thrown into their hands, or to destroy any property upon the island, they will only have themselves to blame for that severity and rigour which most assuredly

will

will be the consequence of any such proceeding.

“ JOSEPH BEETE, Secretary.

“ By command of his Honour the President, and Council.”

The garrison at Richmond Hill consisted of one hundred and ninety men, and the militia at St George's, of two hundred and eighty rank and file, fit for duty. The President, very properly conceiving that an attempt to disperse the insurgents before they should gather that strength and confidence which delay would undoubtedly give them, was of the greatest importance, determined therefore, by the advice of the Council, and after consulting Captain Sandeman of the 9th, who then commanded his Majesty's troops in garrison, to order an attack to be made on their camp on the side of Gouyave, and on that of St Andrew's at the same moment. For this purpose, one hundred and fifty men, of whom forty were regular troops, under the command of Captain Gurdon of the 58th, embarked in small vessels at day-break on the

5th of March, and proceeded under the escort of an armed brig to Champion's Bay (within two miles of Charlotte Town) where they landed about noon. They then marched by the estates of Palmiste and Dougaldston, avoiding the high road by the sea, and entered the town about 4 o'clock, P. M. But the enemy had evacuated it in the morning, carrying with them to the mountains two six pounders from the battery.

Captain Gurdon had been ordered to march that night as near as possible to the camp at Belvidere, to which he was to have been guided by Dr Muir, who was well acquainted with the ground, and at day-break next morning to make his attack. In the instructions given to him, he was also informed, that "the militia on the side of St Andrew's and St Patrick's were ordered to co-operate at the same moment, and the united endeavours of all the detachments were to be exerted to reduce the enemy, and liberate the prisoners *." Captain Gurdon's reasons for not carrying

* Vide Appendix, No. I.

carrying *his part* of this *well-intended* plan into execution, shall be given in his own words, taken from a letter he wrote some time afterwards to the President: "After I had *taken* the town of Gouyave on the evening of the 5th March, it was my intention to have stormed the enemy's camp at day-break next morning; but on visiting the party under my command, I found them too much fatigued by their march, as I was forced to go round by the mountains, to avoid two six pounders which I was informed were placed in a narrow defile I must have passed." This *fatiguing* march had been performed, however, in the space of four hours, and the party had met with no enemy. It will not appear, it is hoped, invidious or improper to observe, that the same portion of time might have been sufficient, both for refreshment and rest. But it happened that Captain Gurdon was not greatly censured for any delay on this occasion, as the officers commanding the militia of St Andrew's and St Patrick's were, for a similar error on their part; though it is well known by those

those who were on the spot at Grenville, that they had a better excuse, and far more weighty reasons for not marching, than what have been given in the above extract from Captain Gurdon's own letter. In him, it was deemed but a pardonable *omission*; in them, unpardonable *disobedience of orders*, notwithstanding the impossibility of carrying those orders into execution, which the author will endeavour presently to shew. It was fortunate for Captain Gurdon, that the news of his remaining all night at Charlotte Town, was accompanied by the account of his very gallant behaviour in repulsing the enemy, who had the temerity to attack his party. His apparent misconduct in one instance, was forgotten in the success which attended his brave exertions in the other. The particulars of the action are briefly these :

Captain Gurdon took every precaution, in the disposition of his men, to guard against a surprise, by placing piquets and sentinels at proper posts. At four o'clock in the morning of the 6th, the piquet, posted at the dwelling-house on Gouyave estate,

estate, consisting of thirty men, was attacked by the insurgents, who came down in considerable force from a hill above the house. As soon as the centinel had challenged, and discharged his musket, our men were under arms, and a smart fire immediately began on both sides. Captain Gurdon, and Captain Park, who commanded the St George's militia, with the greatest expedition formed their troops, and marched to support the piquet. In passing the works, to ascend the hill near the dwelling-house, they were fired on by a large party of the enemy, which obliged them to halt and return the fire; and after a few rounds the insurgents retreated. The light company of the St George's regiment, under Captain Park, then joined the piquet-guard, who defended themselves with great steadiness and resolution. In a short time the enemy fled in great confusion, leaving twelve dead on the spot; and it was afterwards said, that twice that number were wounded. On our side, three of the regulars were killed, and one was wounded; together with
two

two of the militia, one of whom, Mr Barry, soon after died. Both regulars and militia (except a few who had got drunk), behaved with great intrepidity on this occasion; and, for a *first essay*, the St George's regiment may be said to have performed wonders! They were indeed mostly picked men, and had come forth voluntarily on this service, very firmly attached to, and having the most entire confidence in their leader, Captain Park.

To return to Grenville.—The reader has already been informed, that a small party of the militia of St Andrew's marched into the town on the morning of the 3d, where they were spectators of a scene too horrid to relate! Colonel Horsford, who commanded the St Andrew's regiment, immediately ordered the alarm to be fired. The insurgents had not spiked the gun on Pilot Hill; and the union flag had escaped their notice, by being thrown into some corner of the house. It was instantly hoisted. Trusty messengers were sent, to summon the militia who resided at a distance. Escorts were sent to
conduct

conduct the families of the inhabitants into the town, who were put on board the vessels in the harbour, which served, in this moment of imminent danger, as an asylum for the sick, and for the women and children. About noon, fifty men were collected, twelve of whom were of the troop of light cavalry. Piquets were posted at each end of the town, and the best disposition of our little force was made, under the direction of Captain M'Caskey, an excellent officer, who had long been in his Majesty's service. Lieut.-Col. M'Donald, and Major Hardie, and indeed every officer present, gallantly exerted themselves on this alarming occasion. The provisions, and whatever else could be serviceable, which the insurgents had left in the stores, were put on board; and what ammunition was known to be upon the estates in the neighbourhood, was brought in and deposited on board the armed vessels. But these objects did not hinder the mournful survivors from paying the last duties to their murdered friends. All the bodies which were found,

were

were decently interred. In the evening it was thought proper, considering our small number, and ignorant of the strength or numbers of the insurgents, to go on board. But the ships were so moored as to be able to annoy the enemy, and to prevent the town from being set on fire; in which Captain M'Nab (a gentleman who had come on a visit to a friend in this quarter) rendered very important services.

Next day, the 4th, the St Andrew's militia were joined by the St Patrick's regiment, consisting of about forty *effective* men, under the command of Major Stewart. They had assembled, on the first report of the insurrection, at the town of St Patrick's, and from thence marched to take post at Marli Plantation; but afterwards judged it more advisable to join their force to that of St Andrew's, which divided could effect nothing, but collectively might perhaps be enabled to act with energy against the enemy. It was late in the evening of the 3d when they reached the estate of Lower Simon: they therefore

therefore took post there for the night, and early in the morning marched into Grenville. It was now taken into consideration by the officers of both regiments, whether a post should be occupied on Pilot Hill or Telescope Point. But it was at last determined to remain on shore in the day-time only, and to go on board the ships at night, several of the men being unfit for duty. The business of embarking provisions, &c. was continued, and detachments were sent into the country to search for arms and ammunition, and to endeavour to bring back the negroes to a proper sense of their duty; for they were now beginning to be very disorderly, and refused to work on several estates in the neighbourhood. The gun on Pilot Hill, and two nine pounders on Telescope Point, were rendered unserviceable, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In all these operations, Major Landrith, an active good officer, exerted himself highly. On the 5th, at one o'clock P. M. the letters which shall presently be laid before the reader, were brought to the Command-

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ing Officers of the St Andrew's and St Patrick's regiments, by Captain Ker, with a detachment of sixteen of the militia light cavalry. The officers of both the regiments having been called together, and the orders which those letters contained having been communicated to them, were *unanimously* of opinion, that they ought to be carried into immediate execution, *as not a moment's time was to be lost*. This opinion was given, on the supposition that the detachment of the light cavalry under Captain Ker, was intended as a reinforcement to our little army; for, small as it was, it inspired confidence and hope. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donald, and Mr James Campbell, offered themselves for the service of collecting able trusty negroes from the estates of Mr A. Campbell; and Major Hardie and Mr Hughes willingly went on the same service to the estates in the neighbourhood, of which they had the direction. Baggage mules, and whatever else might be wanted for the intended march that evening, were ordered to be procured. But the orders which Captain Ker said he had

had

had received from the President, "to return with his detachment as soon as possible," changed the face of affairs entirely.

It was now thought necessary to consult Mr Smith, an experienced surveyor, who was well acquainted with the ground through which we must march, and better qualified perhaps than any other to decide on the possibility of fulfilling the orders of his Honour the President; that is to say, to arrive in the vicinity of Fedon's camp *before day-break*. Such, it will be seen, were the orders. Mr Smith gave it as his decided opinion, that it was *impossible*. This opinion of Mr Smith, ought to have been set forth in the answer which was returned to his Honour the President. In that case, it can hardly be supposed, that the letter which he sent next day, which shall also be laid before the reader, would have been couched in such harsh terms of censure and reproach. This last letter was undoubtedly written in the moment of painful solicitude and disappointment. The President's *well-concerted plans* (for

(for such they certainly were, as far as his information respecting the distance and nature of the ground and other circumstances went) had unexpectedly failed in the very outset. When the letter of the 6th is reviewed in this light, it is to be hoped that the censure contained in it will make no very unfavourable impressions in the mind of the reader respecting the conduct of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed. The correspondence on that unpleasant occasion was as follows :

“ St George’s, 5th March 1795.

“ SIR,

“ The unfortunate capture of the Lieutenant-Governor by the insurgents, having rendered it necessary for me to assume the command for the present, I have the honour to acquaint you therewith, and to request you would immediately assemble all the white men who can possibly be spared from the necessary defence of your quarter, and proceed with them to-night towards the estate of Julien Fedon, which is the present head-quarters of the insurgents,

gents, so as to take post as near as possible to them an hour before day-break. At day-break I have ordered an attack to be made on the side of Gouyave by a party of military and militia, and, on the side of Saint Patrick's, by a party of militia from that quarter. With these you are to co-operate to the utmost of your power, it being of the last importance immediately to reduce a band of rebels, who may otherwise essentially endanger the general safety of the island, and the life and property of every white individual in it. The parole is Wolfe, and the counter-sign Howe.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" K. F. M'KENZIE."

" *Colonel Horsford.*"

" SIR,

" The necessity of making a very vigorous effort for the immediate reduction of the rebels in arms at the estate of Julien Fedon, and the smallness of the whole force with which you will be able to act offensively from your quarter, induces me
to

to suggest a proposal to you, on which you will act or not, as your better knowledge of local circumstances shall direct you. This proposal is to arm a number of able trusty negroes, from the estates of Mr Alexander Campbell, and from such of the other estates in your quarter, as you can place good dependence upon, and take them with your party, to assist in the attack ordered for to-morrow morning. The circumstance, of the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr Campbell being in the hands of the rebels at Fedon's, will in all probability produce vigorous efforts on the part of the negroes connected with them.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" K. F. M'KENZIE."

" *Colonel Horsford.*"

Similar letters to the above were addressed to Major Stewart.

The following is the answer which was returned by Captain Ker,

SIR,

" SIR,

" A council of war of all the officers of the two regiments being called, took into consideration the following circumstances: *First*, the impracticability, or even *possibility*, of co-operating with the party of the St George's regiment, from the late period at which they received his Honour the President's orders; and, in the *next* place, the eligibility of the measure ultimately, from the hostile disposition of almost all the gangs of negroes, not to say the same of many whites in this quarter:—And they are unanimously of opinion, that the safety of this part of the island depends on their maintaining our situation on board the shipping in the harbour. It is farther to be observed, that out of eighty effective privates, not above *two-thirds* are properly armed and accoutred. Still, however, we would have made the attempt, had Captain Ker with his party agreed to join us. We have the honour to be, &c.

" ISAAC HORSFORD, Col. St Andrew's Regt.

" JOHN STEWART, Major. Com. St Patrick's.

" GORDON TURNBULL, Lieut. of the Troop.

" *His Honour the President.*"

On

On the night of the 5th, several fires were perceived from the shipping, in the direction of the Upper Pearl and Carrière, which proved to be the trash-houses or buildings for preserving the cane-fuel on those estates and some others. The house of Mr Stuart, near De Glapion, was also observed to be on fire. As two of the troop patrolled, in the day-time, every hour towards this house, which commanded the road leading to the mountains, it is probable that Fedon imagined a post was intended to be established there, and to prevent our doing so, ordered it to be set on fire. This was the beginning of a conflagration which was lighted up every night by the negroes in different parts, and in the end desolated the whole island.

On the 6th, the letter from the President, already mentioned, was brought by the detachment of the troop under Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, and is as follows:

“ Saint

" St George's, 6th March 1795.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have received your letter of yesterday afternoon. The critical situation of this island required your instant obedience to my orders, and not your debates on the eligibility of them, which I had determined upon. The island is to be saved by your united exertions against the enemy, and not by hiding your regiments on board ships at La Baye; nor can I conceive how you can think of securing the safety of your quarter, by deserting the common cause of a general attack on the head-quarters of the rebels. The situation of the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr Campbell, ought of itself to have produced a very different conduct. A party of about one hundred and sixty regulars and militia have taken Gouyave, and are proceeding to attack the camp at Julien Fedon's, in which they are to be supported by one hundred veterans of the Quebec frigate, which is now under weigh for Gouyave. I therefore repeat to you both, my positive order, that you immediately

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form as strong a detachment as possible of the effectives of the two regiments, and of trusty armed negroes from the estates, and proceed without the smallest delay for the camp at Fedon's, there to support the general attack, by acting vigorously against the enemy as occasion may require: And I hold you answerable for every ill consequence which may attend your further disobedience. A vessel will proceed instantly with a supply of arms and accoutrements; but you are not to wait her arrival. Proceed immediately with what you have. I am, &c.

" K. F. M'KENZIE."

" *Colonel Horsford.*

" *Major Stewart.*"

The reader, being already acquainted with the delay which happened on the part of Captain Gurdon, has probably anticipated the author in the observation, that, whether the officers commanding the St Andrew's and St Patrick's militia were blameable, or not, in not having marched to attack Fedon's camp, it was fortunate that

that they did not make the attempt. The same reasons still prevailed for not marching directly up to the mountains; but it was determined to form a junction with the troops at Gouyave, if possible, in time to support the attack which it was supposed would be made next morning. By this measure there would be a certainty of acting together, which otherwise was at least doubtful. The answer to the President's letter sent by Colonel Keith, who returned to St George's that evening, was a verbal one—"That the militia, at least as many of them as were fit for duty, would march immediately from their present post; and the orders of his Honour should be obeyed, *as far as possible.*"

A principal reason for wishing to maintain the post at Grenville was, the daily expectation of the arrival of that part of the London fleet belonging to the Harbour, that would, by abandoning it, inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy. On this subject it is but necessary to add, that if a single company, or fifty regular troops, could have been spared to join the militia

militia at Grenville, a post might have been established on shore, which would not only have protected the town and shipping, but also the estates in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, the small force on Richmond Hill would not admit of any diminution.

At four o'clock P. M. on the 6th of March, eighty men of the St Andrew's and St Patrick's regiments, including the small party of the troop, and a few of the St John's regiment, who had found means to join, left the town of Grenville. About twenty men, under the command of Captain Yeaman Horsford, were left on board the shipping. The route which it was thought proper to take, was by the middle road leading to St Patrick's, thro' Tivoli, Montrose, and Morne Fendûe. The detachment of light cavalry led, being guided by Mr Alexander Brander, a gentleman who had narrowly escaped from the insurgents, after having been carried near to their camp. He undertook to conduct the party by the heights of Duquesne and Grand Pauvre, to fall out on
Plaisance

Plaisance estate, formerly De Suze's, very near the enemy's head quarters; but after passing the town of St Patrick's, which was found abandoned, it was thought proper to march by the road through the town of St Mark, commonly called Grand Pauvre, and so on by the sea-coast. The little town of St Mark had been also abandoned. At the house of Clozier St Marie, near this place, a small advanced party of the cavalry, that had been dispatched to search for St Marie himself, found only two mulatto men, who were carried forward to Charlotte Town, where the whole party arrived at four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, after having marched twelve hours without halting, except for about ten minutes at Mount Alexander. Here they found the party under Captain Gurdon had not moved, otherwise the intention of Colonel Horsford and Major Stewart was to have followed, notwithstanding the fatigued state of the men, as there was still time to have gained the height near Belvidere *before day-break*.

The

The account of what happened after this reinforcement joined, shall be given in Captain Gurdon's own words. "In consequence of the intelligence I received," he says, in the letter to the President already quoted, "I thought it more prudent to put off my attack until I should receive a reinforcement, which I did on the arrival of the Quebec frigate*. After which, I determined to march out of the town, to prevent a scene of drunkenness which was too prevalent, and which, from the few officers who were with me, I found it impossible to prevent while I staid there, as all the stores had been broke open, and were full of rum, wine and porter. But, contrary to my expectation, I found that the negroes brought rum to the men from every house or hut that I passed. Nevertheless I hoped, from the accounts I received, to be able to carry the enemy by storm,

* This reinforcement consisted of fifty marines landed by the brave and active Captain Rogers; of these, only *twenty-eight* marched. It is somewhat strange, that Captain Gurdon takes no notice of the reinforcement of *eighty men* from Grenville,

storm, which was my reason for advancing close to their camp ; but upon halting my party, and going on to reconnoitre the enemy, I found them posted on such advantageous ground, with two six pounders which they had carried from the town of Gouyave *, that I thought it impossible to carry the place unless properly invested. I also perceived their numbers were greater than I had reason to expect, as I plainly saw a house and chapel filled with men †, from which two places (even if I had succeeded in driving them from their guns), they could have picked off all my men, as I had nothing with me to make a breach in such strong buildings ; and as my orders from the Council were perfectly discretionary, I thought it would be more for the good of his Majesty's service to return to Gouyave, (as there was no height on which I could encamp with safety),

* These guns had been carried on to Belvidere ridge ; but this Captain Gurdon could not know.

† What Captain Gurdon calls a chapel, was a house for drying coffee, (*boucan*) with a small belfry at one end. This was the post of *La Croisade*, or Mount St John, which General Lindsay took, frequently called *Chadau's*.

safety), until I could receive a reinforcement and two howitzers, which I sent a vessel express for as soon as I reached the town."

Soon after the party reached Gouyave on the 8th, a spirit bordering on *mutiny* broke out among the militia of St George's, which greatly tarnished the glory which they had acquired in the action of the 6th. But the reader shall have the relation in Captain Gurdon's own words. "About an hour after the vessel was gone, I was astonished when some officers of the militia came and informed me, that their men were almost in a state of *mutiny*, saying, that they would instantly return to St George's, as their property was *there*, and it was *that* they meant to protect. I immediately went to find out the truth of the report, when a party of the militia came to me and told me, they must return to St George's that evening, as they heard the enemy were within four or five miles of that town, and that it was useless to stay and protect empty houses. On my telling them that I had sent for a reinforcement,

ment, and that I was astonished at their proceedings ; they said some were already gone, and that they would go, with or without my leave. Seeing the state of the militia, and thinking that, in all probability, the enemy would come down and attack me again in the night, I thought it more prudent to embark the party, than to hazard the lives of many, from the disaffection of a few." It should be observed, however, that hardly a man of the light infantry company of the St George's entered into this shameful deviation from good order. Captain Park, and several of the other officers, did every thing in their power to bring the delinquents back to their duty ; but not being able to succeed, they joined in opinion with Captain Gurdon, that it was the most prudent measure to embark and return to St George's. The small detachment of cavalry, on the embarkation taking place, had permission from Captain Gurdon to march by land to St George's, where they arrived at nine o'clock at night, and brought the first cer-

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tain intelligence of the failure of this first expedition against the enemy.

The President now saw, that nothing could be done until a reinforcement should arrive ; and therefore he was obliged to confine his measures to putting the town and forts in the most secure state that was possible. In this, he was greatly assisted by Captain Rogers, of whose services the inhabitants of Grenada must long retain the most grateful remembrance. Fifty marines were landed from the Quebec, and posted on Hospital Hill. Forty Spanish soldiers, which Don Chacon the Governor of Trinidad sent on the 10th to our assistance, were stationed in Fort George. Don Chacon likewise sent three armed vessels, and in every respect proved himself worthy of the high character we had entertained of his Excellency's noble and friendly disposition.

The whole island, except St George's and the fortifications, and a few estates near the town, was now in possession of the insurgents. The insurrection of the slaves became general; and the work of plunder,
and

and devastation by fire, went on almost without interruption, except when the incendiaries made too near approaches to the town. Those miscreants might truly be said to scatter firebrands, as it were, in sport. But the reader should be informed, that a few days before the arrival of the Spanish armed vessels, that is to say on the 6th, the rebel general had the insolence to send another flag of truce by *De Suze Cadet* and *Pierre Alexandre*, (both white men), who brought a letter, to which the late Lieutenant-Governor, and forty-three more of the unhappy prisoners had been compelled to put their signatures, dictated, it was said, by that arch-traitor *Olivier*. This letter, with the names which were affixed to it, will be given in the Appendix *.

The following is the answer that was sent back by these messengers, who both were liable however to have been hanged, as having formerly sworn allegiance to his Majesty.

“ The President and Council of Grenada, and the officer commanding his Majesty’s

* *Vide* Appendix, No. II.

jefty's garrison of Grenada, have received a letter, signed by several unfortunate gentlemen in the camp of Belvidere, purporting, "*That the instant an attack is made on the post where the prisoners now are confined, that instant every one of the prisoners shall be put to death.*" To a proposition so horrid, it is difficult to conceive that any wearing even the form and semblance of human kind should have acceded. It requires but one answer—That we are all equally willing to spill the last drop of our blood, rather than disgrace eternally ourselves and our country, by a concession to men capable of such a proposition. We disdain to avail ourselves of our power over the insignificant individuals that have borne this flag, but desire that no farther communication of the same nature may be attempted.

"JOSEPH BEETE, *Secretary.*

"By command of his Honour the President and Council, and Commandant of his Majesty's troops in the island of Grenada."

ARRIVAL

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL LINDSAY *.

On the 12th of March, Brigadier-General Lindsay arrived from Martinico to take the command. The militia in St George's were reviewed on the same day by his Excellency, who expressed his satisfaction at their appearance to Lieutenant-Colonel Garraway, their commanding officer. The General had brought with him a few artillery men; and on the 14th, 150 troops arrived from Martinico in his Majesty's ship the Beaulieu. This reinforcement was not permitted to land at St George's, but ordered immediately to Gouyave. On the 15th, at four o'clock in the morning, the General marched at the head of about 400 regulars and militia, leaving 200, least able to bear fatigue, to protect

* The reader, it is hoped, will pardon the author for comprising the sequel of this Narrative even in smaller compass than he has done the foregoing part; not only for the reasons given in the introduction, but also to hinder the work from swelling into a size which he did not wish or intend, and which might be in many respects inconvenient.

protect the town and forts. About one o'clock P. M. the General arrived at Charlotte Town, and the troops were landed from the Beaulieu on the same day. On the 17th, he marched to attack the enemy with all the troops, except the St Andrew's regiment, and the new established corps of Volunteer Associated Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gahagan. These were left to defend Gouyave, and to secure a retreat. The General thought proper to rest the troops at Morne Felix, within a mile of the camp of the insurgents, from one (when they got upon this ground) to three o'clock P. M. This delay of only two hours was probably fatal to the expedition, as it has been thought the General would have got possession of the camp at Belvidere, if night had not come on too soon. The General now advanced with a detachment of the 9th, under Captain Sandieman, under the fire of a large field-piece, to the post of La Croisade, mentioned in Captain Gurdon's letter, and took possession of this place (by nature strong), where, as soon as the rest of the

the troops came up, he ordered fifty men, with a howitzer, to remain. He then marched quickly on, with the party of the 9th, that still led; the troop of militia light cavalry, and the rest of the force, following in the order the General had pointed out. The field-piece, under Captain Grenade (who behaved well on this, as on every other occasion), was brought on to a rising ground, within reach of the works at Belvidere, and was well served. On approaching near these works (where it was thought the unfortunate prisoners were confined), one of the guides perceived a party of the enemy on the left, and pointed them out to the General. This party he undoubtedly imagined to be in great force; and, lest they should fall upon the rear of the troops, immediately gave orders to charge, and, dashing forward himself at the head of the vanguard, the enemy, consisting of about 150 of their best men, were soon forced to retreat into a wood. It was now six o'clock in the evening. Captain Sandieman had
been

been severely wounded; two privates had been killed, and sixteen wounded, chiefly of the 9th; and the troops who came up in time to be in the engagement were almost exhausted, at least greatly fatigued. For these reasons, but chiefly on account of night's coming on, and the General's being altogether unacquainted with the ground, he ordered a retreat to the post which he had taken. His own letter, as it is short, shall be given here.

"Post at Fedon's House, 18th March 1795.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have great pleasure in testifying to you, that nothing *could be better* than the behaviour of the militia in yesterday's affair, which did not cost any thing near the number of men we expected to lose. They showed the best countenance; and every soldier in our regular troops remarked, that nothing could be better. Our whole loss is one Captain wounded, two rank and file killed, and sixteen wounded,

* The General calls it *Fedon's House*, probably because he was told it had belonged to a brother of Julien Fedon.

wounded, chiefly of the 9th regiment, who bore the brunt of the attack. We hope to be in their camp to-morrow.

"I remain, Sir, your humble servant,

"COLIN LINDSAY."

"*His Honour the President.*"

The enemy lost, as we afterwards learned, about twenty killed, and twice that number wounded. In the beginning of the engagement, it is said, Fedon gave orders to put the prisoners to death; but on the representations made to him by St Marie and others, their lives were spared on this occasion; but it was only to make them suffer a thousand indignities and hardships worse than death. They were carried up from the lower camp at Belvidere to the highest, called *Camp de la Mort*, where Fedon had his quarters. Here they were forced to lie upon the ground in the open air, exposed to every inclemency of the weather, till a place could be prepared for their reception. A strong guard was set over them, chiefly composed of *their own negroes!*

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It certainly was General Lindsay's determination to attack the enemy next morning; but the night unfortunately proved quite wet, and unfavourable for the enterprise, which otherwise, under so gallant a leader, would hardly have failed to prove successful. The heavy rains which almost incessantly fell in the mountains, from this time to the fatal period of his existence, rendered any movement impracticable. He must have suffered exceedingly in his mind by this delay; and the anxiety and impatience, which he could not help discovering, appear to have occasioned a temporary insanity. About five o'clock in the morning of the 22d, he unhappily put an end to his life. Some other circumstances, besides the bad weather, probably contributed to the derangement of his mind, as appears by the following letter.

" Post before Belvidere, 21st March 1795.

" SIR,

" Upwards of one half of the militia having left me, contrary to the most positive

fitive orders, I have been prevented from carrying my plans into execution; and as I shall not be able to act offensively until I have at least a number equal to those with which I set out, I thought it advisable to give the part of the militia that remained behind, and who bore cheerfully much hardship from the extreme badness of the weather, leave to return to St George's to refresh themselves, under the positive promise of returning in two days; in which time, it is to be hoped that the weather may prove more favourable for active operations. I rely upon the navy, that they will prevent supplies from getting to the enemy from Guadeloupe or elsewhere. I beg leave to add, that the utmost exertion of every individual will be necessary to follow up this business; and it is with much regret I hear, that there are many persons doing no duty at St George's, that might be of great use here; as I must repeat, that if our number should be reinforced to the number before-mentioned, it will not be more than adequate to the service. I must request

quest a supply of blankets and shirts for my troops, as, when they laid down their haversacks to engage the enemy, the negroes stole them.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ COLIN LINDSAY.”

“ *His Honour the President.*”

On the evening before General Lindsay's death, the author had occasion to make a report to his Excellency relative to some drunken foldiers, who had strayed beyond the lines, and were taken in the act of plundering, which had been prohibited. He came out of the miserable hut he had chosen for his quarters, which did not defend him from the rain, and attended to the report with great composure and complacence. He seemed then to be perfectly collected, and gave his orders for the trial of the offenders, to be held next day, with great calmness; though he was observed at times to be rather warm and impetuous, both in his speech and action. He attended to the minutest wants of the private foldiers, and

and he was therefore beloved as well as feared by them; they would have followed most willingly wherever he led. He would not suffer them to remain inactive, where there was any possibility of exertion; and he was a great enemy to drunkenness, which he said proceeded from a want of natural courage, and a desire to supply that want by artificial means. In a word, General Lindsay was brave, affable, and humane.

By the death of General Lindsay, the chief command again devolved on the President. Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw of the 58th succeeded to the command of the troops; and he and the other officers were of opinion, that the force then in the island was not sufficient for offensive operations. The Spanish troops had been withdrawn, as they were wanted by Don Chacon for the defence of Trinidad, some signs of internal commotions having been discovered in that island. His Honour the President was now reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, till the arrival of a reinforcement from England,

as

as no more troops could be spared by the Commander in Chief from Martinico. Armed vessels were fitted out to cruize round the island, to prevent any succours to the insurgents from Guadaloupe. A small vessel from that island, with musket-ball cartridges, was taken by his Majesty's ship *Resource*, Captain Watkins, to whose vigilance the island is much indebted. Soon after, Captain Watkins brought in another vessel bound to Guadaloupe, on board of which was *Pierre Alexandre*, the same who, together with young De Suze, brought in the second flag of truce. This man had been enrolled in the militia, and had taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty; he was therefore tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be hanged; which sentence was executed in the public market-place of St George's on the 2d day of April.

But it should have been first mentioned, that, on the 23d of March, Mr Luffan, a merchant of Gouyave, arrived from Trinidad. He was a material evidence against Alexandre, having accompanied him

to that island, where their business was to purchase arms and ammunition for the rebels, with bills of exchange drawn by D'Arcueil and St Marie. He came voluntarily in a vessel, which, at his request, had been provided by Don Chacon, in order to give the President every information respecting the insurrection, that had fallen within his knowledge.

Mr Luffan had been carried a prisoner to the camp at Belvidere on the 3d of March, where he remained till the 18th; but being a Frenchman, was employed as a depute-commissary to serve out the provisions; and at one time he said he served upwards of seven thousand rations to people of every description. The cattle had all been driven, by orders of Fedon, by the negroes up towards the mountains, and not less than eight or ten were consumed every day. Mr Luffan was applied to by one of De Suze's sons for money (*pour aider la republique*) to assist the republic. On Luffan replying that he had nothing left to give, De Suze told him, that a letter of credit on his friends

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at Trinidad, to purchase arms and ammunition, might essentially serve the cause, to which he imagined Luffan was as good a friend as himself. To this proposal, the objection was, that Mr Placet, the intimate friend of Mr Luffan at Trinidad, was dead; but as he was a merchant, and well-known in that island, he might, if he was permitted to go there, be able to procure what was wanted on his own account. He was accordingly trusted with bills for this purpose, and ordered to accompany Alexandre on the expedition. They sailed in a small fishing boat from Grenville Bay, in company with two other white Frenchmen, Portales and Nicolas, the 18th about noon, and arrived at the Carenage in Trinidad on the 19th in the evening. Alexandre having gone directly to the house of one Beleran, a brother-in-law of Fedon, to furnish him with money to purchase the articles wanted *, Mr Luffan embraced the favourable moment,

* This money had been given by several in the rebels' camp, as *dont patriotiques*; and a vile priest, named *Pascal Mandel*, contributed forty johannes's.

ment, to get to Port D'Espagne, where, by the assistance of Mr Benoit Dert, who lent him a canoe, he arrived next day early in the morning. He immediately waited on the Governor, Don Chacon, to whom he communicated every circumstance of the business, in which he had embarked merely to have the opportunity of making his escape.

On the testimony of Mr Luffan, some circumstances respecting the prisoners in the camp have already been given; but it may not be improper to add one more, which particularly relates to the late Lieutenant-Governor. When he and his fellow prisoners had been brought up and lodged in the coffee-house at Belvidere, they were visited soon after by Fedon, attended by *Olivier* as an interpreter. "*Eh bien, tyran Home!*" exclaimed this wretched miscreant, "*voilà mon prisonnier—it faut faire livrer les forts.*" "Ah, tyrant Home! you are now my prisoner—you must cause the forts to be delivered up." To which the unfortunate Governor replied, "I am a prisoner, and have no long-

er any power in the colony—I am resigned to my fate, whatever you may make it.” Hard fate! cruel reverse! to be plunged at once from dignified station, affluence, and comparative happiness, into a gulph of extreme misery and woe! But, perhaps, this amiable good man felt a pang more painfully acute for the fate of his friends and fellow-sufferers in confinement, than for his own; and especially for the friend of his early years, his companion through life, Mr Alexander Campbell. This gentleman was just on the eve of his departure from the West Indies for this happy land of true and rational freedom, whither his friend intended soon to follow him. But on this subject the author has perhaps said too much. It is time to return to the task he has imposed on himself, of relating every material occurrence which fell out, in the several attempts to check this unnatural rebellion.

His Honour the President, not wishing to suffer the troops to remain altogether inactive, determined, with the advice of the Council, to form a post at Grenville Bay.

Bay. The shipping had left this harbour on the 15th, and all arrived safely at St George's, except a vessel called the Roman Emperor, which was stranded on a reef near the entrance of the Bay. The town was reduced to ashes on the 18th by the insurgents. They likewise burned the Pilot's House on the hill, though they thought proper soon afterwards to establish a post upon it, and, by the assistance of numerous gangs of negroes, brought up a nine-pounder, which had been thrown into the Bay, and mounted it *, inclosing the summit of the hill with a kind of rampart of boards.

Agreeable to the plans of operation which were now resolved to be carried into execution, the President dispatched the following letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw.

Grenada, 24th March, 1795.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that it has this day been determined, in a
Council

* The insurgents afterwards mounted two six-pounders and a four-pounder at this post. These they brought from the different signal posts on the windward side of the island.

Council of war, to maintain for the present the post you occupy, and to act offensively from thence against the enemy, as *occasion may offer*. A post is immediately to be formed at Grenville Bay for the protection of that quarter, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men, from his Majesty's troops, and the same detachment from the militia. The regular troops are to be drawn from your post, and replaced by an equal detachment of militia. Major Stewart, who is well acquainted with the country, will go round with the detachment, and give them every assistance and advice, which his knowledge of local circumstances can suggest. The necessary orders, for carrying this service into execution, will be forwarded immediately.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

K. F. MACKENZIE."

" *Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw.*"

The orders contained in the above letter were immediately begun to be put in force. Fifty regulars, and the same number

ber of militia of the St Andrew's and St David's regiments *, under the command of Captain Gurdon, embarked in the Flying Fish and Pegafus, armed vessels. Fifty men of the St Patrick's regiment, and a detachment of the light cavalry, marched from Charlotte Town to the Observatory, a commanding post within six miles of Grenville. This party was commanded by Captain Mackenzie of the St Patrick's, and arrived at the Observatory in time to watch the debarkation of the troops under Captain Gurdon at Grenville Bay, and to march thither to support them. But Captain Gurdon not thinking it adviseable to enter the harbour, the troops were landed at Levara, about four miles to the north-east of the Observatory; to which post they directly marched.

On the 2d of April, Captain Gurdon marched from the Observatory towards Grenville. His letter to the President, giving an account of that expedition, shall here be laid before the reader, who may be

* The militia were commanded by Captain McCaskill.

be thereby better enabled to form his own opinion respecting the causes of its failure.

"Observatory-House, Friday, April 3d 1795."

"SIR,

"I proceeded yesterday morning to attack the insurgents on Pilot Hill, leaving only a sufficient force here to protect some sick men. When I advanced near La Baye, they first made a stand with about one hundred men at Paradise negro-houses, from which they were dislodged, but still kept up a fire on Captain M'Caskill's company (which I had sent to scour to the right), and wounded two of my men, but not dangerous. On my advancing with the main body along the road, they fired a cannon at us, which, by the ball which we got, appears to be a nine-pounder, and mortally wounded one of my grenadiers so bad, that he died before he could reach this place. I then got my men under cover of a hill, when they fired a second ball, but it fell a little short of us. I then went with Major Stewart to see their position.

fition and force from a hill called Telescope-house, when, to our great surprise, they manifestly, by the sheds on Pilot-hill, had two pieces of cannon, and full two hundred men, and all the adjoining heights covered with men, principally armed with muskets. In short, they appeared so strong, and so well prepared for us, that on my consulting Colonel M'Donald and other gentlemen, they agreed that I must lose at least one, if not two thirds of my men, before I could gain the hill, and that my force was so small, that it would be impossible to keep possession of it afterwards. They therefore, as well as myself, thought it more prudent and advisable to return and keep possession of this hill, until I should inform you of their strength and position. I consequently sent the wounded men and ammunition off immediately; and, by remaining at Paradise negro-houses for about an hour or more with the troopers, after I had sent the whole body away, I effected a safe retreat for the whole; and was very happy in being able to bring
here

here my grenadier, who died about half an hour after he was shot, and the two wounded men of the militia, who, I am happy to add, are both likely to do well. Their names are Mr Boyd of Sauteur, and Mr Powel of Dunfermline. While I remained with the troopers at Paradise negro-houses, a brig hove in sight off La Baye, evidently intended for that port, as she hoisted a signal for a pilot, but was spoke by the ship Flying Fish and schooner Pegasus, when she went off to leeward with them, in consequence, as I suppose, of not being able to weather Telescope Point; by which I am left here without any provisions or bread, and there are scarce any plantains to be found. I also have no communication whatever by sea, and am forced to send this by land to Gouyave. I hope you will take all these things into your consideration, and favour me with your orders as speedily as possible, particularly as the surgeon Mr Drysdale has just reported to me, that there are nine men very ill with fevers, two wounded men, and a considerable number with

with fore legs. By a woman, who has a husband in the enemy's camp, and was brought in here last night, I find that, the day before yesterday, they sent a reinforcement to La Baye from Belvidere camp, and yesterday morning early, another still larger, so that they evidently must have had information of the intended attack.

" I remain, Sir, &c.

" PHILIP B. GURDON,

" Capt. 58th reg. Commandant.

" *His Honour the President.*"

The author will not presume to make any comments on this letter. The conduct of Captain Gurdon (and the gentlemen whom he says he consulted) has been much censured by some, and endeavoured to be justified by others. But all joined in praising the behaviour of Captain M'Caskill and the militia, at the head of whom he bravely advanced to attack the enemy, and had got almost within musket-shot of the hill, when, to his great surprise and disappointment, the re-

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treat was beat. The detachment of the troop under Lieutenant M'Sween also behaved well. It is to be lamented, that the whole of the troops did not advance to support Captain M'Caskill; for it appeared afterwards, by a letter from Charles Nogues to Fedon, picked up at Belvidere, and brought to the President, that there were but two companies of the insurgents armed with muskets upon the hill, and that they were greatly in want of ammunition *. Nogues commanded at this post. He was unfortunately soon after supplied with ammunition, by a schooner from Guadaloupe, which escaped our cruizers, and got into Marquis on the 8th. But farther mention will be made of this vessel presently.

On the supposition that Grenville Bay would be in possession of Captain Gurdon's party, the President had dispatched an expres to meet the commanding officer of the reinforcement that was momentarily expected, desiring him to land his troops in three divisions, at Grenville Bay, Charlotte

* *Vide* Appendix, No. III.

Charlotte Town, and St George's, for the purpose of making a general movement towards the enemy's camp at different places at the same time. This express met the 25th and 29th regiments on their way from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 29th, to whom the President's dispatches were delivered. Colonel Campbell, however, proceeded with the fleet to Charlotte Town, where the two regiments were landed from the transports on the 1st of April. On the same day, the President had an interview with him, in order to concert the best measures for employing his force. A detachment of three hundred men was re-imbarked for St George's, under Major Mallory of the 29th; and a detachment of two hundred and fifty men, under Major Wright of the 25th, marched on the 2d, with proper guides through the woods, to support the party at the Observatory.

On the 4th, Major Mallory marched with his detachment from St George's, intended to take post at *Michell's*, a hill about

about two miles beyond the *grand etang*, or great lake, on the St Andrew's side, which the President, in his correspondence with Lieutenant-Colonel Este, who succeeded Major Mallory in the command of the party, appears to have conceived to be a post, the possession of which would cut off the communication between Grenville Bay and the camp of the insurgents. But their usual communication was by a different road, crossing the *Grand Bras* river below Renaud's, and through the lands of *La Force* to Pefchiers estate, where they had formed a kind of camp, which served as a place of security for the wives and children of the insurgents, as well as a *depot* for provisions of all kinds. Major Mallory, in proceeding up by the road leading to the *Grand Etang*, was fired upon by a party of the insurgents posted at Madame *Acbe's*, about four miles from St George's. The enemy were soon driven from thence, and our troops halted there for the night. Next day, Major Mallory was so much indisposed by an accidental wound, that he could

could not proceed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Este was ordered from Gouyave by the President to take the command. Major Mallory was afterwards brought to town, where he fell a victim to the contagious fever. On the 6th, Colonel Este assumed the command of the party. For the reasons which prevented his farther progress, the reader is referred to his letters to the President *.

Major Wright's joined Captain Gurdon's party at Mount Horne, after encountering great hardships, and losing twelve men, who, it was feared, had fallen into the hands of the barbarous enemy, as they had been incapable, from fatigue, of keeping up with the rest in the march. Major Wright had been annoyed by a party of the insurgents at Mirebeau, whom they soon put to flight. Major Stewart recommended Grand Bras as a proper and commanding post to be taken; but as Captain Gurdon had left some sick troops and a guard at the Observatory, it was resolved to

* *Vide* Appendix, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

to return to that post. Major Wright having applied for more provisions and artillery, they were immediately sent ; but though his force was now four hundred strong, he made no movement ; and the insurgents remained in possession of Grenville Bay, and continued to strengthen Pilot-hill. The banditti now burned Mirebeau, Grand Bras, Mount Horne, and every other place through which our troops had passed, following their steps with dreadful desolation.

To return to the camp before Belvidere, which Colonel Campbell had reinforced with eight hundred men immediately after landing at Gouyave on the 1st of April. On the 3d, he placed a strong piquet of one hundred regulars, and some of the St George's militia under Captain Hewan, at Chadau, properly so called, which was half a mile nearer to the rebels camp than La Croisade. In the evening, as some movements of the enemy had been observed on that side, a reinforcement of fifty men was sent to Captain Hewan. At midnight he was attacked by the insurgents, who,

who, after keeping up a smart fire about half an hour, thought proper to retreat. Captain Hewan was mortally wounded, and died in two hours after the action was over. A serjeant and one private were likewise killed, and nine privates wounded.

On the 7th, his Honour the President, in consequence of a letter he had received from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, desiring to have a conversation on the subject of future operations, went to the camp before Belvidere. It was thought best to make a vigorous assault upon the camp of the insurgents, without loss of time. Captain Watkins, of his Majesty's ship Resource, gallantly offered his services on this occasion; and, with the assistance of Captain Blackett, the master of a ship then lying at Gouyave, (whose spirited conduct and exertions on this and several other occasions entitle him to great praise), one hundred and fifty volunteer seamen were collected to assist Colonel Campbell in the enterprise. These brave fellows marched from Charlotte Town in the evening, and reached our camp about midnight. Every thing

thing was now prepared for the assault, which was made on the morning of the 8th. Our troops were led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Hope; and, on their advancing, the enemy abandoned the lower post at Belvidere, and retreated to the ridge of the mountain, on which they had two guns, but one much more advanced, that is to say, lower down on the ridge than the other. This was the first object to which the movements of a company of the 9th, under Captain Stopford, on one side, and a part of the seamen, led on by Captain Watkins, on the other side of the ridge, were pointed. The first was supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, with a party of the 29th and 58th; and the last, by a detachment of the 25th under Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. Both columns pressed forward with great ardour. Captain Stopford, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of the ascent, had got within twenty yards of the gun, when he fell. Mr William Park*, who had gallantly

* This gentleman was editor of the Grenada Gazette. He was possessed of uncommon abilities, and his death was greatly and deservedly lamented.

lantly engaged in this enterprize as a volunteer, fell almost at the same instant. The troops now being exposed to a heavy and galling fire from the enemy, and finding it impossible to make their way through the fallen trees, were forced to retreat. On the other side, Captain Watkins, with Captain Blackett and thirty-five brave seamen, had actually got within a few yards of the gun; but, observing that Colonel Hope with his detachment was retreating, and the rest of the seamen not having come up, they were also under the necessity of retreating. About one fourth of the volunteers who followed Captain Watkins were killed and wounded; and, besides Captain Stopford and Mr Park, Ensign Baillie of the 29th, two serjeants, one drummer, and sixteen rank and file, were killed—Lieutenant Power of the 58th, six serjeants, two drummers, and forty-three rank and file, were wounded. The retreat of our troops was well supported by Major M'Lean, with a party of the 68th, otherwise a great many more must have been lost in this unfortunate attempt.

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The failure of this enterprize may be attributed to several causes. The heavy rains which had fallen, the inaccessibility of the ground, and the trees which had been cut down, rendered it almost impossible for the men to march, or to use their arms. The seamen and troops employed to bring forward a six-pounder, had no share in the action; and this gun, owing to its great distance from the ridge, was of no service whatever. To the insurmountable difficulties which our troops had to encounter from the nature of the ground, it may be added, that many of those who were newly arrived, were raw and undisciplined young men. Colonel Campbell, on his part, had made the most judicious arrangement for storming the Hill at day-break; but the obstructions above mentioned retarded the march almost an hour beyond that time; and the enemy had notice of the approach of our troops soon enough to take every advantage of their situation, and to gall the advanced party of the 9th exceedingly. The number that fell on the side of the
insurgents

insurgents could not be ascertained ; but, considered comparatively with the loss our troops sustained, they suffered but little. Among the insurgents killed, was a brother of Fedon, who fell early in the engagement. It has been said, that Fedon's houses on the plain of Belvidere, commonly called the Lower Camp, (by them *Camp de la Liberté*), were evacuated by the enemy, and might have been easily burnt ; which would have distressed them extremely, as they had a great part of their provisions in those houses. This was effected, however, without any loss on our side, by a party of the regulars and militia, sent by Major M'Lean a few nights afterwards*.

The schooner, which has already been noticed, arrived at Marquis on the day of the attack. With the arms and ammunition which came in this vessel, the French Commissioners sent one *Le Grange*, a mulatto, as their *delegate*, to direct the future operations of the insurgents jointly with Fedon, Besson, and Nogues. An officer

* *Vide Appendix, No. 9; 10, 11.*

ficer was sent also, to bring the prisoners then confined in the camp to Guadaloupe. He did not reach Belvidere till next day, and then unfortunately it was too late to fulfil the purpose of his mission. He carried back in the schooner, three only out of fifty-three*; for ten had been added to the fatal list subscribed to the letter brought by the second flag of truce.

At this period of the unnatural rebellion, the author is forced to pause. The mind is struck with horror, and recoils at the recollection of an event, which, for its atrocious barbarity, has not, perhaps, been paralleled in the history of the most savage nations. Early in the attack made by our troops on the camp of the insurgents, fifty British inhabitants, (among whom were several of the most respectable characters) who had been captured, or induced to surrender, by the treachery of

* The names of these three persons were, Dr Hay, the Reverend Mr M'Mahon, and Mr William Ker. Dr Hay was exchanged for a French officer in the beginning of July, and sent to Martinico; and from thence he came to Grenada on the 22d of the same month. Mr M'Mahon and Mr Ker remained at Guadaloupe.

of Fedon and his adherents, were deliberately massacred by order of that inhuman monster! The death of Fedon's brother, served as a pretence to that blood-thirsty assassin, to sacrifice so many innocent victims to his manes; but his principal motive for so horrible a deed, was probably his fears that they would have been relieved by our troops, or might have made their escape during the engagement. The manner of their being put to death has been variously related.—Let it suffice, that they met their fate, for which they were prepared by uncommon sufferings, with fortitude, with calm and pious resignation.

It was said by some of the French white inhabitants, who afterwards came in to our troops, that the officer already mentioned, finding that the Governor and all the rest of the prisoners, except three, had been thus ignominiously put to death, reprehended this wanton and unprecedented act of cruelty in the strongest terms of disapprobation and abhorrence. Be this as it may, the declaration which
was

was brought by the schooner, and industriously distributed in the island, serves to prove, that the Commissioners who signed it, were not themselves averse from that *system of terror*, which their friends and allies, by the said declaration, and by the example that had been set them in Guadaloupe, were taught to follow. A translation is here given.

“DECLARATION

“Of the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention to the Windward Islands.

“Considering, that the sentiments of humanity, which have always directed our conduct towards our vanquished enemies and prisoners, have been forgotten by the English nation in these colonies, who finding it impossible to resist the republican valour, have not forbore by their innumerable crimes to force us to reprisals :

“Considering the ridiculous blockade of General Vaughan and Caldwell, not unlike to the foolish plan of the famous Pitt
(their

(their master), to starve the French nation, at the time her enemies, defeated and affrighted, fled before her, leaving her master of all Belgia and Holland:

“Considering, that the event has fully justified our declaration to the neutral powers dated the 3d Ventose, and since the islands of St Vincent’s, Grenada and St Lucia were successfully attacked by the republicans ten days after having officially notified the same by a flag of truce received by Rear Admiral Thomson, warning him in the said declaration of our plan of attack:

“Considering, that the proclamation of the Council of Grenada dated the 4th March (style of slaves), sent forth by the infamous Kenneth Francis Mackenzie, is an outrage against the rights of nations and humanity, because it puts arms into the hands of assassins, by promising them twenty joes for each head of our brave and loyal republicans:

“Considering, that similar atrocities have been printed and published by the Governors and Council of St Vincent’s and Dominica,

Dominica, against our faithful friends and allies the Caraihs :

“Declaring, that the Caraihs nation being in friendship with the French, to whom they have always been much attached, and by virtue of powers invested in us, we have named the citizen Duvalay (their chief) officer of the French republican armies, conjunctly with the citizens Torailles and Michel Mathieu, French republicans, enjoining them to use reprisals against the English in the island of St Vincent's, &c. &c. after having notified to them the present declaration by a flag of truce:

“Declaring likewise, that citizen Nogues, officer of the Republic commanding at Grenada and Lagrange, our delegate, do signify to the chiefs of our enemies in these islands, the present declaration; enjoining farther all the officers commanding the armies of the Republic in the islands already conquered, or to be conquered, to observe the laws of war in the case where, by any deliberate act, a republican dies by the hand of our enemies, to put to the sword

sword all such until their name and memory are blotted out in the colony where the crime shall be committed :

“ Promising to do the same in all the colonies where the inhabitants and the English commanders publish and execute such proclamations :

“ Denouncing to the public opinion, and to all nations, Kenneth Francis Mackenzie and Mather Byles, subscribers to the said proclamation : Declaring, that the French republicans have no need to put a price on heads so despicable, to conquer and annihilate them.

“ Port of Liberty, the 11th Germinal, the third year of the French Republic one and indivisible.

“ VICTOR HUGUES.

“ GOYRAND, and

“ LE BAS.”

The following remarks on the above declaration were written by the President, but were not published. The author thinks they will not be unacceptable to
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the reader, and therefore has given them a place in this narrative.

“ From the total want of truth and decency, which marks this publication of Victor Hugues, Goyrand, and Le Bas, (if the publication really be theirs), it might at first view be considered unnecessary to make any comment thereon. Every person in this colony must at once see its falsehood and inconsistency. But, for the sake of others not so well informed of what has passed, it may be right to shew the production, and the proclamation to which it alludes, in one view. The proclamation offers no reward for the heads of the subjects of France, who come here openly to make war. The British nation meets its foreign enemies with other arms, and has long been distinguished for its generous and compassionate conduct towards prisoners taken in war; their persons are protected; and their wants, in health and in sickness, are amply supplied at the public charge. But it is not with an open foreign enemy that the government

government of Grenada contends. The wretches who have desolated the island, and assassinated their unsuspecting fellow-subjects in the hour of sleep, or dragged them away to more deliberate butchery in their camp, are not foreigners who have landed in arms to make war; they are subjects of the King of Great Britain, many of them born under his government, and all bound to pay allegiance to his Majesty by the most solemn treaties and oaths. The laws of every country consider such criminals as the outcasts and scourges of society; most justly deliver them over to death, and encourage every good subject to use his best efforts for their destruction. It was for these reasons, that the President and Council of Grenada offered, and still offer, a reward to those who, at their personal risk, undertake to execute the public justice on such robbers, incendiaries, and assassins, whose conduct has disgraced their nature. The immutable principles of justice sanctify the measure; it is entirely consistent with every law of religion, and with every

very institution of society. But it is reserved to the unhappy times in which we live, to see three obscure individuals assume to themselves the authority of a nation once highly civilized, and publish decrees which that nation must necessarily disavow, as disgraceful in themselves, and inconsistent with the existence of every society ; to see Victor Hugues, Goyrand, and Le Bas, under the title of Commissioners delegated by the National Convention of France, claim alliance with the most barbarous and abandoned in the neighbouring colonies ; attempt by commissions to screen them from the gibbet ; hold forth rewards to the deserter and the rebel ; arm the servant against his master, and the son against his parent ; encourage the violation of every tie human and divine ; and then insult common sense by a shameless appeal to the rights of humanity, of nature and of nations. These are plain truths, which must carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind ; while the threats and falsehoods of Victor Hugues, Goyrand, and Le Bas, can only stimulate
the

the brave to support the cause of virtue with redoubled exertion."

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL NICOLLS.

Thus we have seen, in the foregoing part of this Narrative, that, almost in every instance, the best plans which his Honour the President could devise for the reduction of the insurgents, have been defeated. Unfortunate and unforeseen accidents, and, perhaps, in some instances, a want of strict discipline and obedience, prevented those plans from being carried into execution with that vigour and alacrity which he wished, and which could only insure success*. He therefore sent a letter by express to General Sir John Vaughan, the Commander in Chief at Martinico, informing him of his situation, and requesting that he would immediately send a general officer, vested with the full command, in whom the military establishment, the militia, as well as regular troops, might

* Of the President, it may very well be said, that though he could not command success, he deserved it.

might have full confidence. In consequence of this application, Brigadier-General Nicolls arrived at St George's, and took the command on the 16th of April. From the circumstance of General Nicolls having resided in the Island during the government of General Mathew, when his conduct, as commander of the 45th regiment, gave universal satisfaction, he was received by all ranks of people with every mark of welcome and sincere congratulation. He was accompanied by Captain Drew of the 45th, as his Brigade-Major, who, being likewise known and respected by the inhabitants as a good officer, met with the same agreeable reception *.

In describing the military operations and occurrences from this period, to the time of the author's departure from the Island, he means to be very brief and concise, as by this time the reader probably wishes

* None could be more pleased on this occasion than the President. He was, by the arrival of General Nicolls, relieved from a load, under the pressure of which he was ready to sink.

wishes the work to be brought to a conclusion.

As soon as General Nicolls had visited the camp before Belvidere, and the post at Ache's, he determined to withdraw the troops from both these places, and to drive the enemy from Pilot-hill, where they were now in considerable force.

On the 22d, an engagement took place between the party at the Observatory, under Major Wright, and the insurgents. A small foraging party of the light cavalry having gone to Tivoli in the morning, were nearly surrounded by the enemy on their return. Mr Robert Turnbull and Mr Langan were killed by the first fire. The rest with difficulty escaped, and gave the alarm to Major Wright, who immediately ordered a detachment of the regular troops under Captain Gurdon, and the militia under Captain M'Caskill, to march against the enemy. They appeared drawn up on a hill within cannon-shot of our post, in considerable numbers, having a six-pounder advanced upon the summit; which, however, they had only time to discharge

discharge once, our troops marching so briskly up, and attacking them with such a steady and smart fire, as soon forced them to seek their safety in flight, and abandon their gun. Captain Gurdon fell in the beginning of the action, as he was bravely advancing at the head of his troops; and, by his death, atoned for any errors or mistakes which it may be thought he had committed in some of the enterprizes already mentioned. In this engagement, five of the regulars, and three of the militia, were wounded.

About this time, General Nicolls and Captain Rogers were both seized with an attack of the malignant fever then raging, which had swept away many of the troops and inhabitants. The General however did not fall a victim to it; but Captain Rogers died on the 24th, universally lamented.

The embodying and arming of trusty negroes for internal defence, had been the first object which engaged the attention of General Nicolls. Three hundred negroes were in a short time enlisted under Major
John

John Farquharson. They were divided into five companies of sixty men, under the command of a captain and lieutenant to each company. These officers were such as had given proofs of their courage and abilities to command; and the hopes that were entertained of the great service which a corps, inured to fatigue, and used to travel in the woods, would render the colony, were not disappointed. They have indeed rendered essential services; and it was in contemplation to augment their number to five hundred. Before taking leave of this corps, it is with real concern the author must mention, that, very soon after its establishment, three of its gallant and worthy officers, Captain Chisholm, and Lieutenants D. and S. Campbell, were carried off by the epidemical fever, brought on perhaps by excessive fatigue and hard duty.

On the 26th, the posts in the heights near Belvidere were evacuated, and the expedition against Pilot-hill was undertaken. Two gun-boats, each carrying an eighteen-pounder, were prepared. About

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twenty

twenty small vessels, escorted by the Resource frigate, Captain Watkins, assembled at Gouyave; and Colonel Campbell, with about nine hundred troops, embarked on the 27th, leaving two hundred under Major M'Lean, to defend Charlotte Town. From St George's, the troop of light cavalry, and the black volunteer corps, marched by the road leading by St David's, Crochu, and Grand Bacolet, to Marquis; where the troops that had embarked at Gouyave landed, on the 4th of May, under cover of the fire from the gun-boats. As soon as a few of the troops were landed, Colonel Hope marched with them to dislodge a party of the insurgents on Post-royal hill, which he effected without any loss. Major Wright's party at the Observatory, had been joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Gahagan's corps of cavalry, and had been ordered to march towards Grand Bras, to cut off the retreat of the enemy from Pilot-hill. But owing to some accidental occurrence, or mistake, respecting the particular time of marching, this part of the plan was not carried into

into execution. The insurgents abandoned the Hill in the night, after spiking the guns, and escaped to Belvidere, to the great mortification of the troops that had landed under Colonel Hope, and those who had marched by land to join him.

After taking possession of Pilot-hill, it was occupied by a strong party under Colonel Hope. The post at the Observatory was continued; and General Nicolls established posts also at St Patrick's and St David's, commonly called *Megrin*; and the post at Charlotte Town was reinforced. The remainder of the troops and militia were in garrison in St George's and the fortifications.

From this time to the 26th, no material occurrence happened. About one o'clock in the morning, the troops who were posted in the church at St David's, consisting of fifty regulars, under Captain White of the 29th, and twenty-six militia of the St David's regiment, under Colonel Scott, were attacked by about five hundred of the insurgents, one half of whom were armed with muskets. Two centinels were surprised,

surprised, and put to death; and the enemy found means to pass the piquet-guard undiscovered. The first notice our troops had of their approach, was by a volley of musketry fired in at the door and windows of the church. Captain White was then ill with an attack of the fever; and Lieutenant Williams of the 29th, immediately called to arms. Both regulars and militia seemed to be animated by the same spirit, and determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. The enemy appeared to be very numerous; but this did not intimidate our brave little garrison. The firing on both sides was continued till day-break, when the assailants thought proper to scamper off, leaving twenty killed on the spot. On our side, this surprising victory, for such it surely may be called, was bought very dear. Nine of the regulars were killed, and thirteen wounded, some of them badly. Among the latter was Lieutenant Williams, who behaved most gallantly*.

Two

* Lieutenant Williams, after having been cured of his wounds, died of the malignant fever.

Two of the militia were killed, and eleven wounded, one of whom, Mr Thomas Junior, afterwards died of his wounds. The Reverend Mr May, who had joined the party at this post, distinguished himself highly, encouraging our men both by precept and *example*. Lieutenant Murdoch of the St David's regiment, likewise displayed great firmness and resolution on this occasion. The chief who led the insurgents, a mulatto, named St Bernard, was shot by Mr Murdoch, as he was pointing a blunderbuss in at a window.

A short time after this, Colonel Hope marched with a considerable party to the post of the insurgents at Michel's, which place he set fire to, after having dislodged the enemy, several of whom were killed. On our side, two of the regulars were killed, and two of the militia wounded; one of whom, Lieutenant Hughes, was shot through the body, but recovered.

Nothing remarkable happened after this, though our foraging parties had frequent skirmishes with the rebels, who generally fled from our troops after the first
or

or second round. On one occasion, the troop under Captain M'Burnie, consisting but of thirty men, were attacked near Mirebeau by upwards of an hundred of the enemy well armed, and some of whom were mounted on horse-back. These dastardly banditti were soon obliged to retreat, and were pursued by our horse above a mile towards the mountains. One of the most active of the insurgents named *Rapier*, and a few more, were wounded in this skirmish, without any loss on our side.

At Charlotte Town, Major M'Lean, an excellent officer, frequently sent out detachments to harass the enemy. Some of these detachments were successful in taking prisoners, and in destroying the huts and other buildings in the mountains, which served for shelter and retreat to the rebel negroes. On these occasions, our troops were generally attended by a great many of the negroes who had remained faithful, and these were employed to cut down and bring in plantains. On the morning of the 6th of July, a party

party of thirty men under Ensign Leigh of the 68th, attended by upwards of two hundred negro men and women, went to forage in the valley of Grand Pauvre. On their return about noon, the negroes being loaded with plantains, they were attacked in the rear as they marched along the sea-beach. On our troops quitting this path, to turn up towards the country, they were met by another party in front. Our troops were completely surprised, and some of them were wounded; but they made a good defence, and drove the enemy back. Upwards of fifty of the defenceless negroes, however, were taken by the insurgents, and carried to their camp, where the men were shot next day. The women, among whom several were severely wounded by these miscreants, were confined; but a few afterwards made their escape, and brought this intelligence. This concludes the relation of military operations. The proceedings of the civil department remain to be mentioned.

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The necessity of adopting some immediate measures for the support of the public credit, had induced the President to issue a proclamation on the 6th of May, calling the Legislature together, to take the same into their consideration *. Accordingly they met on the 7th, and his Honour addressed them in the following speech, which is here given, not only for the excellence of its composition, but as it may serve as a recapitulation of almost every thing that has gone before.

“ Mr President, and Gentlemen of the
“ Council :

“ Mr Speaker, and Gentlemen of the
“ Assembly :

“ It is a very sensible affliction to me to meet you for the first time in a season of great public calamity. A general insurrection of the French free-coloured people broke out here on the 3d of March: The Lieutenant-Governor, who was then in the country, was unhappily captured by the

* *Vide Appendix, No. 12.*

the insurgents on his way to St George's; and it became, in consequence, my duty to assume the chief command, which I exercised until the arrival of Brigadier-General Lindsay on the 12th of March: His death unfortunately took place ten days afterwards; and the direction of public affairs again devolved on me, until the 14th April, when Brigadier-General Nicolls landed here from Martinique, and took the military command, which he still retains.

“ During the periods when the affairs of the island were under my direction, I used my best efforts to restore tranquillity, but I was not successful: The insurrection still exists: Many of the French inhabitants have joined the insurgents: A very general spirit of revolt has shewn itself among the slaves; and a large proportion of the estates have been desolated by fire and pillage.

“ Such papers as are necessary to explain the plans which have been adopted for the re-establishment of order, and the

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causes of their failure, shall be immediately laid before you.

“ Among the misfortunes which the island has experienced, I must particularly regret the untimely death of Captain Rogers, commander of his Majesty’s ship Quebec, who was eminently distinguished by his zeal and activity in the service of the island, and to whose memory some mark of public gratitude is most justly due.

“ At the commencement of the disturbances, a number of gentlemen offered their services as a corps of volunteer cavalry, which I accepted, and associated them under a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, and a Major. The constant services they have rendered, amply justify the idea I had entertained of the usefulness of this additional militia establishment. A state of this corps will be laid before you. Brigadier-General Nicolls has, since his arrival, given orders for embodying and arming a black corps of three hundred men, from the trusty slaves, for the service of the island. A copy of his general orders for this purpose, and a return

turn of the present state of the corps will be laid before you, that you may consider what regulations are proper to be made on this subject.

“ A number of people, against whom there were in some instances proofs of guilt, and in others grounds of suspicion, have been taken up and confined on board a hulk in the Carenage. They have been examined by a committee, whose report, with my observations thereon, has been laid before Brigadier-General Nicolls. I recommend to your consideration the present state of the hulk, and the expediency of furnishing the prisoners with further accommodation in point of room, as their numbers are already considerable, and are increasing.

“ *Gentlemen of the Assembly :*

“ I lament that the long continuance of the insurrection has brought a very heavy expence upon the colony ; but I judged it essential for its interests, that the public business should meet with no obstruction

obstruction or delay; that the coasts of the island should be protected by cruizers, and that the militia and the troops should be encouraged by every reasonable indulgence, to perform their duty with cheerfulness and alacrity. I have directed the proper officers to lay before you statements of the expences which have been incurred. I trust you will provide in the best manner for the discharge of them, and of such further expences as the situation of our affairs may require. I particularly recommend to your early attention the liquidation of such debts as are due to foreigners for provisions supplied on the public account.

“ I also recommend to you to make some present regulations with respect to the real and personal property of persons known to be in insurrection. A committee has been appointed to receive and store such articles as arrived in the fleet from Europe for persons of this description; and I shall direct a report of their proceedings to be laid before you.

“ *Gentlemen*

" Gentlemen of the Council ; and,

" Gentlemen of the Assembly :

" The critical situation of the Island calls for your utmost zeal, firmness, and unanimity. You contend against an enemy destitute of faith, and rendered infamous by the vilest crimes. The unhappy English inhabitants who were captured by their treachery, or who submitted to their mercy, have, I too justly fear, been indiscriminately subjected to deliberate massacre in the rebel camp : and the perpetrators of this butchery avowedly seek to rob you of your property, and to extirpate you and your families.

" Your cause, Gentlemen, is good ; your exertions should be exemplary ; and, when I look round upon you as individuals, whose cheerful submission to hardship and active exertions in the service of the Island, do you the highest honour, I feel a confidence, that your conduct in your legislative capacity will be equally meritorious, and that you will adopt the wisest
and

and most strenuous measures for the re-establishment of good order, and the maintenance of the public credit."

The Council and Assembly presented separate addresses to the President, which being, as usual, little more than echoes to the speech, are therefore omitted here. They then proceeded to take the important objects which his Honour had recommended, into their consideration. On the 11th, they chose William Lushington, Esquire, M. P. to be their agent at London, in the room of the late Alexander Campbell, Esquire: and, after having examined the papers which had been laid before the Assembly by the President, the House *unanimously* came to the following resolution; which, together with the Speaker's letter, the author thinks it proper to submit to the reader; and, with them, conclude the proceedings of the Legislature, though both Houses continued to sit for a considerable time thereafter.

"Sf

“ St George’s, 14th May, 1795.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by the House of Assembly to convey to your Honour, its unanimous approbation and acknowledgements for your unwearied attention to every part of the public service, at a time so critical and alarming to the existence and welfare of the Island, at the moment that the command of it devolved on you ; and, in obedience to the order of the House, I inclose you a copy of its resolution.

“ It is with pleasure that I execute this part of my duty, as it affords me an opportunity of expressing the high sense of obligation I feel, as a person deeply interested in the fate of the Island, for your constant exertions to rid it of an evil which threatens to be its ruin.

“ I beg leave to subscribe myself with the highest respect, Sir, &c. &c.

“ BEN. WEBSTER,

“ Speaker.”

“ *Extract*

“ Extract from the Minutes of the Assembly, 11th May, 1795.

“ RESOLVED unanimously, That, after the most mature and strict examination of the papers, and various correspondence, subjected to the perusal and consideration of this House, by his Honour the President, it is the unanimous opinion of this House, that his Honour's unwearied attention to every part of the public service, contained therein, his perfect and correct judgement in the formation of the different plans, as well as the earnest and steady determination in enforcing the execution of the same, merit, in the highest degree, the approbation and acknowledgement of the Legislature, and the society at large; and that the failure of the various well concerted plans has not been merely owing to a chain of unfortunate circumstances, but to a disobedience of orders, and want of punctuality in the execution of them: And that Mr Speaker be requested

requested to communicate to his Honour the President, the above resolution.

" A true extract from the minutes.

" D. CLUNIE,

" Clk of Assembly."

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing Narrative, it appears that General Nicolls had established posts at Grenville, St Patrick's, St David's, and Charlotte Town. By this arrangement, the principal harbours were secured, and the sea coast was in our possession. The remainder of the troops and militia were stationed at St George's, and Richmond Hill. But the fortifications on this hill are so extended, and so constructed, as to require as many troops for their defence against a skilful and determined enemy *, as were left to defend the whole Island, on the 23d of July last. Both the regular troops and militia had been reduced to half their number in the space of three months, by the fatal epidemical fever, which had raged with dreadful violence

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lence

* Fortunately the insurgents were not of this description.

lence during that period. Indeed the situation of the once flourishing colony of Grenada was such, on the day above mentioned, (when the last convoy sailed from it), as to give but too much cause to the people in this country to fear for the fate of their friends, who were left to struggle with the storm in that Island; and even for the fate of the Island itself.

The sanguine hopes of the inhabitants were unhappily frustrated by the troops that came from England in the end of June (instead of coming to their relief) proceeding to *St Domingo* *. No shipwrecked mariners, who having perceived a vessel, which they flattered themselves was coming to rescue them from impending destruction, should have the mortification nevertheless to see her bear away from them, could be more dreadfully disappointed.

But,

* General Vaughan paid a visit to Grenada in the beginning of June. He staid on shore at the President's house but a few hours. He then promised that the first troops that should arrive from England, should be sent to the relief of Grenada. Unfortunately he died before he could fulfil this promise.

But, thank God, our affairs, by the last accounts both from Grenada and St Vincent, are such as ought, in some measure, to lessen our apprehensions for the fate of those Islands. The troops under General Hunter would probably get out in time to save Grenada, by keeping the insurgents in check, until the strong armament, now about to sail under General Sir R. Abercromby, shall happily arrive. The accounts from St Vincent are so flattering, indeed, as to afford reasonable grounds to hope, that tranquillity would soon be re-established in that colony. With these comfortable hopes and assurances, the author will now conclude this Narrative *.

APPEN-

* In the Appendix will be given, a list of the French white inhabitants who were known to have joined the insurgents, and those who have since surrendered. Also, a rough sketch of the former income of Grenada, and of the loss incurred by the rebellion.

[illegible]

APPENDIX.

No. I.

St George's, 4th March, 1795.

SIR,

You will please to give orders to the officer commanding the detachment ordered to attack the camp of the insurgents at Julien Fedon's estate, to embark his party of regulars and militia on board vessels, which will be ready to receive them at Mr Thornton's wharf at day-light to-morrow morning, and proceed to Gouyave under the escort of the brig Eliza, which will meet them off Molénier's Point. At Gouyave he will debark his party, and proceed with them to-morrow night towards the estate of Julien Fedon, to which he will be guided by Dr Richard Muir, who embarks with his party, and halt as
near

near as possible to the insurgents an hour before day-break. At day-break he will make his attack. Parties of militia on the side of St Andrew's and St Patrick's, are ordered to co-operate at the same moment; and the united endeavours of all the detachments are to be exerted to reduce the enemy, and liberate the prisoners; in which service, I have every hope they will succeed. An acting commissary is on board to victual the party, who, as well as the masters of the several vessels employed on this service, will be under the direction of the officer commanding.

The parole is *Wolfe*, and the counterfign *Howe*.

I have the honour be, &c.

K. F. MACKENZIE,

Captain Sandieman, 9th foot.

Commy. H. M. Troops.

No

No. II.

*Camp at Belvidere, Grenada, Friday
Morning, the 6th of March 1795.*
Gentlemen,

General Julien Fedon, commander of the French republican troops, (which are now of considerable number), did last night communicate to me the answer which he has received from the President and Council, to the declaration sent them by him; and the prisoners here, who are forty-three in number, have requested, that I would acquaint you with the said General Fedon's positive declaration, made to me and the rest of the prisoners, which is briefly as follows: "*That the instant an attack is made on the post where the prisoners now are confined, that instant every one of the prisoners shall be put to death.*" The same order has also been regularly given to us every night since we have been prisoners. We therefore hope you will take this our representation into your most serious consideration, and not suffer, if possible,

possible, the lives of so many innocent persons to be sacrificed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

NINIAN HOME.

To his Honour the President
of his Majesty's Council,
and to the officer com-
manding his Majesty's
troops, GRENADA.

P. S. General Fedon is of opinion, that
I have not sufficiently expressed his senti-
ments in that full manner he wishes
should have been done, and requests me
to add, "*That he expects all the fortifica-
tions to be delivered up to him on an honour-
able capitulation.*"

Ninian Home,
Alexander Campbell,
John Hay,
James Farquhar,
Patrick Fotheringham,
George Rose,
George Walker,
Samuel Ought,
William Muir,
Robert Webster,
Michael M'Carthy,

Patrick Cumming,
Anthony Ker,
Thomas Johnston,
Philip Lepelley,
John Livingston,
John Jackson,
Francis Douglas Carruthers,
William Gilchrist,
Christopher M'Carthy,
Gilbert Ker,
Richard Davis,

Jenkin

Jenkin Rice,	Edward Mathews,
Joseph Shea,	Richard Todd,
Duncan M'Dougall,	Matthew Atkinson,
James Butler,	William Hawkes,
Edward H. Johnston,	Joseph Barlow,
Benjamin Johnson,	James Cuthbert,
William Kennard,	John Morris,
Hugh M'Coull,	Peter Thompson,
Joseph Thomas Guy,	John Thornton,
James R. Linton,	William Bell,
Joseph Mercer,	Francis M'Mahon.

Citizen Charles Nogues, captain, and Jean Pierre La Valette, lieutenant of infantry, apprehending that the President and members of the Council may doubt under what authority they act ; These are therefore hereby to certify, that they have shown me their commissions, signed by Lebar, Goyrand, and Victor Hugues, and countersigned by Viel, secretary, and dated at Port de la Liberté le 7 Ventose l'an 3 de la Republique Françoise, une & indivisible ; and that they had named Citizens Julien Fedon and Besson, commanders in chief of the armed force.

NINIAN HOME,

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No.

No. III.

(Translation.)

CITIZEN,

To the several demands which I have made for ammunition, you have given me for answer that you could not send me any. Recollect that the powder belongs to the Republic, as well as ourselves. I must tell you, that ammunition ought not to be refused to a Chief whom the Republic has invested with its powers. Recollect also, that La Baye is the rendezvous of all that we hope to receive from Guadaloupe; and therefore we ought not to abandon it but at the last extremity.

All the officers of the two companies which are in garrison at La Baye, in conformity with the orders which they have received, require of General Fedon, that this letter shall be read in presence of all the officers remaining at the Camp de la Liberté; and if the plurality of voices shall be against us, their decision shall be a rule to us. We request, however, lest our labours may not be entirely lost, a
sufficient

sufficient number of assistants to carry up the cannon and the cattle which we have collected here, as well as the salt provisions and liquors which remain.

CHARLES NOGUÉS.

CHRISOSTOME.

J. PEYSSON.

J. DUBESSET.

J. F. CAMILLE.

J. B. EDANT.

J. LEANDRE.

M. CUSTOFFE.

*To Citizen Julien Fedon,
at the Camp de la Liberté.*

No. IV.

SIR, *Grenada, 5th April 1795.*

You will proceed with the escort of field artillery and provisions, ordered to Madam Ache's; and on your arrival, take the command of the detachments of the 25th and 29th regiments stationed there, and proceed to Michel's House, to which you will be guided by a detachment of light cavalry under Captain M'Burnie.

You

You will there take post, and use the best means in your power to suppress the enemy, and co-operate with the other detachments. You will have a supply of one week's provisions for the escort which goes up with you, and which is ordered to take post at Madam Ache's, and keep the communication open. The remainder of the provisions, and the field artillery, are for the service of your detachment. The mules are to be returned under a sufficient escort to Madam Ache's, to which post such further supplies as you may have occasion for will be forwarded, and committed to the charge of your escort to convey them to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

K. F. MACKENZIE,

No. V.

SIR,

Our leaving St George's at so late an hour, made it eight o'clock before the last gun and the rear column reached this post; of course, there was no possibility of judging of posts,

The

The night proving rainy, with heavy showers in the morning, I was informed there would be no possibility of moving before the roads got somewhat dry. I therefore proposed to march about ten, previous to which time this post was attacked from an height that totally commanded it, as well as the road by which the detachment was to proceed; and it became necessary to dislodge the enemy, and to occupy this height, before the detachment could move; for which purpose, it was judged advisable to send a detachment into the bottom, in hopes to divert the enemy from that post, and which in some measure succeeded. Lieutenant M'Namara, who had gone with this detachment, returned, and informed me, that he had left Captain Pigot in a secure post, which cut off all communication with the bottom, or a possibility of the enemy receiving supplies; and the fire on the height having in a great measure ceased, I ordered fifty men, under the command of Lieutenant Walton, to make an assault on this side of the hill; at the same

same time sending orders to Captain Pigott to advance on the other side, if practicable, to divert the enemy's fire from that side, as the ascent was very great, and would not have been effected if the enemy in any small body opposed.

By these two movements, the object was effected about half past five in the evening, and the post occupied; and we remained tolerably quiet through the night. In the attack we lost two men killed, and four wounded. The killed have been brought in this day.

We had two sailors wounded in this post, which, considering the constant fire from the enemy, was very inconsiderable. At first I did not intend to return the fire; and kept the men as little exposed as possible; but at last brought up a gun, and fired canister-shot for some time; which not answering the purpose, the movements were made as mentioned before. I am much afraid that the post at this place can never be maintained, or the communication kept open, by so small a number of men as is allotted to it. I should think
twice

twice the number inadequate; and, even then, another post would be necessary between this and St George's, to insure a probable communication.

I am sorry to add, there has been another rainy night, and several very heavy showers since day-break; and that to the difficulties I have already mentioned, others occur, which place me in a most difficult and critical situation. However, as soon as the men are a little rested from their fatigue, and the roads are passable, I shall push forward with one gun, without waiting for the round and grape shot I requested Mr M'Burnie to acquaint you were immediately wanting.

I cannot express how much I am obliged to Lieutenant Walton for his exertions, and for his conduct in the attack of this post, which he volunteered.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHA. WM. ESTE.

No.

No. VI.

Post at Aches, 8th April 1795.

SIR,

From the information I have this moment received from Captain M'Burnie, that the men of the Resource had marched from *Guave* yesterday to join the army on the attack of the rebel camp, and from a cannonade and platoon firing heard here this day, which tends to confirm it; and as it is impossible this detachment can move before the morning, I take the opportunity of Captain M'Burnie's return to St George's with the sick, to state to you the following observations.

There appears a very numerous body encamped on a ridge, directly opposite this post, and who are certainly in motion in various parts, with a view to impede its march, and which I am informed is very easily to be effected. As no time will be lost by asking your further directions, as he must return previous to our movement, I think it my duty to represent

sent to you, that the detachment is already much fatigued, and incapable at this moment of great exertion; that it is too much incumbered with cannon and ammunition, besides a quantity of provisions; at any time sufficient to injure any military operations, but which, in the present situation, might prove highly detrimental to the country, should any discomfiture happen to it.

I have consulted Major Mallory; and we both agree that it is adviseable to lay this before you, before a movement is made; both being of opinion of the very great consequence of this post to the safety of the town of St George, and as a barrier to a farther incursion of the enemy, should they take this route towards the ridge I have already mentioned, and, by weakening this post, leave this part of the country at their mercy, and open to their depredations.

I shall beg you would direct me, whether I am to move under the circumstances I have related, or whether you may not judge it wiser my remaining at this

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post,

post, which, with the present force, I am in no apprehension of.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHA. WM. ESTE.

His Honour the President,

No. VII.

St George's, 9th April 1795.

SIR,

I am honoured with your letter of this date, and shall make particular inquiry respecting the different matters mentioned in it. I am truly mortified so many impediments should have presented themselves. At first, they would probably have been found to be trifling; but delay has increased their magnitude; and in the present moment the execution of your orders might perhaps be too difficult, especially as I have just learned with astonishment, that the detachment under the command of Major Wright has not yet possessed themselves of Pilot-Hill at La Baye, notwithstanding he has 400 men, and the insurgents have only two companies, and on
Sunday

Sunday were without ammunition. Loss of time has occasioned loss of co-operation, and both have been highly injurious to our affairs.

Under all the circumstances now existing, I must leave you to act for the present under the exercise of your own judgment and experience, in such way as you may think best calculated for the public advantage, and to continue to do so until further orders.

I have the honour to be, &c.

K. F. M.

No. VIII.

Post at Aches, 9th April 1795.

SIR,

I have the honour of your letter of this day, and as you are pleased to leave to my judgement to determine the propriety of advancing to Michell's, I must say, that at present I am exceedingly against any movement from this post, not only from the circumstances I mentioned in my former letter, but more particularly from the unfortunate event you communicated in
the

discomfiture of yesterday ; persuaded, from that event, and the appearance before me, this post becomes of more consequence, securing the town and government from all attacks on this side.

The enemy on the opposite heights have greatly increased their numbers, and are many with arms, and, as we think, have white people with them. They extend their encampment every night round the two faces of the mountain, and have, since yesterday morning, had the effrontery to descend in numbers into the bottom ; and from which circumstance, I told Major Mallory early yesterday, I apprehended they had received favourable accounts from their camp.

I mean to exert myself this night and to-morrow, in clearing and securing this post, to which purpose we stand in need of more hatchets and hand-bills. The hatchets should be sent with handles ; the last were without.

I have been making very minute inquiry what roads they have from the ridge they occupy, to interrupt me on my route, and I am informed they have two ;
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one about two hundred yards from Grand Etang house, the other at the heights above the river Soulier, and where they may ly in numbers, impossible to be discovered or annoyed; which circumstances, in my opinion, render any movement with a detachment simlar to the one I am entrusted with, the height of imprudence to risk, considering the strong country I have to pass through, and the advantage ensuing from the post I at present occupy.

I have also made inquiry with respect to the advantage you have mentioned of cutting off supplies, by being posted at Michell's; and I am informed, and, as I am told, by the best guides, that they have four higher from La Baye to the camp of Belvidere, than by the road under Michell's. I shall take the liberty of naming them, viz. one by Madame Peschier's, another by Madame Renaud's, a third by the Canal of Mirebeau, and a fourth by Paraclete.

I endeavour fully to explain the motives under which I act; and submitting them

them to your better judgement, still assuring you I shall be willing to move forward, if you see reason for such an attempt, though I confess I think the risk will be greater, and most probably attended with more distress than any real good that can arise from the attempt.

I beg your pardon for not dating my letter; and perfectly coincide with you in the impropriety of conveyance by negroes. I have no table to write on. My pens, &c. are bad; and therefore trust you will excuse that hurry and incorrectness,

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHA. WM. ESTE.

His Honour the President.

No. IX.

SIR,

Observatory Hill.

Since I last wrote to you, I have received information that the enemy have had a supply of arms and ammunition. They have likewise considerably strengthened their post by an entrenchment, and their numbers are very considerable. Without

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we can therefore be assisted by a considerable force, it will be impossible for us to succeed. If you should therefore think proper to send a detachment of at least an hundred men from the Grand Etang, (if that post can admit of such a diminution of force) to co-operate with us, we might make the attempt with some hopes of success. I am sorry to add, that our men have been in such a state of intoxication, ever since they have been out, that it is impossible to place much confidence in them. The artillery arrived last night; but they have so overloaded us with ammunition, that we shall find it difficult to carry the whole of it. If you could spare a detachment from your troops, Major Stewart informs me they might be here in twenty-four hours, which would be fully as convenient as what I before mentioned. The estates are now burning close to us; so that all our prospect of provisions must in future come from the ships.

I am, Sir, &c.

H. A. WRIGHT,
Major 25th Regt.

Lieut. Col. Campbell.

No.

No. X.

Plaisants, 9th April 1795.

SIR,

I have the honour of inclosing a letter from Major Wright, and must leave the answer, so far as relates to the reinforcements proposed from your side, entirely to your pleasure; neither knowing where the detachment commanded by Colonel Este is at this time, nor the service upon which it is employed. With respect to any reinforcements to be expected from the troops here, I must assure you it would be impossible for me to spare any, consistent with the safety of the rest; and I have just received the inclosed list of sick from Major M'Lean, who in addition assures me, that the fatigues of the men are such as has almost rendered the whole unfit for service, particularly the officers. Captain Walker reports, that the enemy are advancing a gun to the opposite ridge, which, should they once open upon the post, must render it untenable.

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The enemy have certainly received a supply of ammunition and arms, otherwise they never could have supported the continued and heavy fire of yesterday, where, exclusive of artillery, there could not possibly be less than seven hundred firelocks employed.

These are grievances which I am sorry to communicate; but they are strong truths, which I think it necessary you should be acquainted with, and flatter myself, your superior knowledge of the situation and interest of the island will instruct some remedy. As far as my small force can be useful, they are certainly ready to act; but it really does not appear to me at present possible to afford protection to both this and St George's side of the country. Should the retiring Major M'Lean's post meet with your approbation, it will be necessary to collect a very large number of negroes and some seamen to carry down the artillery, which Captain Walker seems to think even now in a precarious situation.

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These are matters of such consequence, that I need not press your answer as soon as possible ; and therefore shall no farther trespass on your time. I have the honour to be, &c.

A. CAMPBELL, Lieut.-Col.

His Honour the President.

Since writing the above, Captain Walker tells me that he is in the greatest want of ammunition for the artillery, not having more than two or three rounds.

No. XI.

St George, 10th April 1795.

SIR,

I am honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, covering one from Major Wright. The proceedings of the party at the Observatory, surprize and disappoint me. The strength there consists of 300 regulars, and 100 militia ; and by the letter from some of the insurgents to their General, of which I sent you a copy yesterday, the strength of the enemy at La Baye

Baye amounts to two companies of undisciplined rabble, short of ammunition of every kind. This requires no comment. Pilot Hill ought to have been ours long ago, with much less force than we have there. I desire that Major Wright may immediately make himself master of it with the strength that he has, for the post is of the last importance to the preservation of the island. I have no reinforcement of men to send him; and if I had, it does not appear necessary. Good discipline will prevent the intoxication he complains of. Our affairs there have been most essentially injured by relaxation and delay; and nothing but vigorous exertions and intrepid decision can retrieve them.

With the number of men now in the island, I cannot think of relinquishing any of the posts that tend to hem in the enemy. That under the command of Major M'Lean must be maintained to the last extremity, for it is most necessary for our future operations. If we expect to succeed, we must act offensively. I trust our affairs
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are not yet so bad as to induce us to retreat before such an enemy, and look for safety in our fortifications. Fedon's camp on the plain may be burnt any night, and the cattle there driven off; and I have to desire that may be done the first night the weather will permit. I have information to-day from the enemy's camp, that had that been done at the time of the attack (and it might then have been effected with a corporal's guard), the insurgents would have been distressed in the extreme, as they had nothing of consequence on the hill, but had, and probably still have, the greatest part of their stores and provisions below.

I am at a loss how to issue orders respecting ammunition for the artillery. Lately, their quantity, bulk and weight were matters of inconvenience; and now there is not enough. Captain Walker has sent no return of what he requires; and without it, the ordnance storekeeper says he knows not how to supply his wants. As soon as the return is received, the articles shall be forwarded.

I am glad to find, by Captain Johnston's application for eight hundred and sixty pair of strong shoes, that the number of men with you is so considerable. I have given the necessary orders respecting them to Captain Miller, the acting quartermaster.

I have not yet had a complete return of all the troops under your command. Be pleased to furnish me with one, and also a return of the killed and wounded in the attack of the 8th.

I forward to you, for your information, Captain Gurdon's letter from the Observatory, and also Major Mallory's from Madam Ache's. Be so good as to return them by the first conveyance.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gahagan will forward for you, by such means as may be most convenient and expeditious, the orders that relate to the detachment under Major Wright. I have, &c. &c.

K. F. MACKENZIE.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

No.

The following are the names of such of the French white inhabitants as were known to have joined the free coloured insurgents. It did not appear, however, that all who went to their camp had taken up arms. The names of those who surrendered themselves (but too late to avail themselves of the clemency held out to them by proclamation), are marked thus *. They were all committed to prison, and were to be tried for high treason as soon as a court could be conveniently held for that purpose.

Clozier Darcueil,	Two Breuils,
Clozier St Marie,	Three Richauds,
Olivier,	Jean Condom,
Pascal Mandel,	Two Rougets,
De Suze, and two sons,	Fuquet Neveu,
De Sarrotte,	Gavin, *
Marechaux, *	Campmarle,
Du Parquet, *	La Bastide, *
Delambuc, *	Sibillat,
Two Renauds, *	Eloin,
Two Pelerins,	Caseneuve,
Verdet and nephew,	Charpentier,
Parisien,	Pierre Beau,
	Oulingre,

Oulingre,	Bontems,
Le Roi,	Barbaroux,
Du Rost,	Passe Lamellerie,
Thomâs,	Two Gerbets,
Benoit, *	Two Noifettes, *
Vonweiller, *	Dupeyron, *
Laurenzie,	De Salasc, *
Papin,	Magnival, *
Broucheir, *	Dufaut.
Reubens,	And others, whose names
Mayor,	were not known.

The following are the names of four execrable traitors, who, it is said, were born of British parents, yet joined in the unnatural insurrection.

George Hazell,
Charles Castles,
Richard Alexander,
Richard Spencer.

The value and importance of the island of Grenada to Great Britain may be judged from the following statement, which is taken from a petition of the Council and Assembly of that island presented to the House

House of Commons against the abolition of the slave-trade, in the year 1790.— Since that period, the income, or yearly value of the crops, was much higher in some years ; consequently, the revenue paid into the Exchequer was also increased.

“ From Grenada, a revenue of about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling was paid annually into the Exchequer ; and about five hundred thousand pounds Sterling *per annum*, being the gross yearly value of the island crops, was expended in Great Britain, to the great benefit of the landed, as well as the commercial interest, and to the support and increase of navigation.”

A calculation of the losses sustained by the insurrection has been attempted, and is as follows.

Sugar and rum works, and other buildings destroyed on 65 estates, at L. 6000	STERLING.	
	L. 390,000	0 0
Cattle, horses and mules, on ditto	65,000	0 0
Works and other buildings on 35 coffee estates, at 1000l.	35,000	0 0
One fourth of the slaves killed, dead, or otherwise lost to their owners, say 7000, at 50l. Sterling each	350,000	0 0
Loss on the crop of 1795, and on the crops of the three following years, calculated at	1,500,000	0 0
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	L. 2,340,000	0 0
Negro houses, plantation utensils, and other losses not in the above rough statement	160,000	0 0
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	L. 2,500,000	0 0

The losses of many individuals, and the expence incurred in suppressing the insurrection, are not taken into the above calculation, as it is impossible to ascertain what may be the amount with any degree of precision.

The following address, though not referred to in the narrative, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader.

“ To Brigadier General Nicolls, commanding his Majesty’s forces in the island of Grenada—The address of the members of his Majesty’s Council, and the representatives of the people of the island of Grenada, and the Grenadines thereon dependant, in General Assembly convened.

“ SIR,

The Council and Assembly of these islands embrace the earliest opportunity that has occurred after your arrival, to congratulate you on your appointment to the command of his Majesty’s troops stationed here.

We lament that your indisposition has hitherto deprived us of the advantages which we hoped for from your personal exertions in quelling an unnatural rebellion which has broken out in this colony, and from your active services in a part of
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the island where they were most required ; and it is to this cause alone that we must attribute the failure of an essential part of the plan which you had so judiciously formed for the attack on Pilot Hill, and surrounding the insurgents at that post. The escape of the whole party of the enemy, and the laying waste so many valuable estates in their retreat, is a misfortune we cannot help sincerely regretting ; but we flatter ourselves that it will not be long ere you will be able to adopt and carry into execution such measures, as your knowledge of the local circumstances of the colony, and your zeal for its interest, will point out to you. We cannot, however, avoid pressing upon your recollection, that the near approach of the rainy season, calls for immediate, and the most vigorous exertions ; that delay at this period will be attended with more fatal consequences, than the most strenuous or even hazardous enterprizes. This assertion needs no other comment than the losses sustained in the troops hitherto sent out to Martinico, and the other West India

dia islands, where a far greater number of them have died while in a state of inactivity, from the inclemency of the seasons, than by the sword of the enemy. In addition to this fact, permit us to observe, that a protracted, or merely defensive war, will be equally ruinous and fatal to the island; and to deprecate a measure which we trust the circumstances of the colony have not as yet rendered a matter of absolute necessity; upon which principle alone we conceive that it ought to be adopted. Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to the outlines of a plan for the reduction of the insurgents, founded on the long residence and local knowledge of many of us, and which we are ready to offer for your consideration, if it shall not be deemed presumptuous or obtrusive, and in which, when matured, improved, and carried into execution by your military abilities and experience, we have the utmost confidence of success: And we hope and trust, that your knowledge of the inhabitants of this island renders it unnecessary for us to assure you of their
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ready and zealous co-operation with the troops under your command, in any measure that may appear to you best calculated for putting an end to the ruinous and barbarous insurrection which at present exists.

We also take the liberty to request, that you will give your sanction, by putting your name to a proclamation to be issued by his Honour the President, to call in all slaves who have absented themselves from the service of their respective owners, and promising generally to receive and feed them, on condition of their surrendering themselves within a limited time to be fixed in such proclamation."

The author has no authentic copy of the answer of General Nicolls to this address, otherwise it should not be withheld. The General expressed in strong terms his disapprobation at the interference of the Honourable Council and Assembly in military operations, of which he presumed they were not competent to judge. He refused to receive, and far less to follow,

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any plan which they might think proper to propose ; but probably his reason for this was, the reduced state of the garrison on Richmond Hill, which required, as has been observed in the Narrative, more troops to defend it than were remaining in the island at that time.

THE END.

ADDENDA.

IN the foregoing Narrative, the author is not conscious of any essential error or omission, which he conceives it to be his duty to correct; except in one instance, where, on the testimony of the master of the vessel, on board of which the late Lieutenant-Governor and his companions had embarked at St. Patrick's*, the manner of their falling into the hands of the insurgents, at Charlotte Town, commonly called *Gouyave*, has been strangely misrepresented. With respect to that unfortunate event, the declaration of those gentlemen themselves, after their

* See page 27 of the Narrative.

arrival in Fedon's camp, at Belvidere, and since communicated by Dr. Hay, ought undoubtedly to be deemed the best authority. They declared, that they had not the smallest apprehension when the vessel came off *Gouyave*, nor until they were in the boat approaching the shore, that the place was in possession of an enemy. The discovery was first made by the battery firing at the vessel they had quitted, which was then bearing away for St. George's, when they perceived at the same instant two canoes, full of armed negroes and mulattoes, making for their boat. From these canoes it was impossible to escape, and they were forced to submit to the most ignominious and dreadful captivity. The Lieutenant-Governor also declared, that his reasons for disembarking at Gouyave, were, to cause the alarm to be fired, and the militia to be instantly assembled, under the impression that they were ignorant of what had happened at *La Baye*. His servants, and those of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Farquhar, had been ordered to meet them with their horses,
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at Gouyave, from whence they proposed going by land to St. George's. Respect for truth, as well as for the memory of his unfortunate friends, has induced the Author to lay this communication before the reader,

Justice to the President, Mr. Mackenzie, requires likewise, that a very groundless report, propagated by some insidious enemy of that gentleman, should not pass altogether unnoticed. It has been said, that the President planned and ordered the attack which was made on the camp of the insurgents on the 8th of April, *contrary to the opinion, and even to the remonstrances of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and the other officers of his Majesty's troops.* But unhappily for the authors of this calumny, some of those officers, at present in this country, have given their testimony, that no difference of opinion whatever took place on that occasion. The necessity of a speedy attempt to disperse the insurgents, and to release the prisoners, was unanimously agreed upon.—That it

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failed

failed has been already shewn to be owing to accidents, that no human prudence could possibly guard against; and to difficulties that neither human force nor valour could surmount. Other malicious attempts have been made to injure the character of one, whose indefatigable exertions for the safety and defence of Grenada, ought to fill the mind of every loyal inhabitant of that ill-fated island with the most lively sense of obligation.

But the *unanimous Resolution* which passed the House of Assembly on the 11th of May 1795, approving the measures the President had adopted *, may serve as a full refutation of all those unfounded reports, that have an evident tendency to detract from his merit, wheresoever they may have originated, or by whomsoever they may have been circulated.

By the latest and most authentic accounts from that unfortunate colony, the calamities of which have been attempted to be described in the foregoing pages, it

* See page 130 of the Narrative.

appears that no offensive military operation whatever had taken place on the part of his Majesty's troops, under Brigadier-General Nicolls, since the month of July last. It probably required his whole force, to defend the different posts established round the island to secure the principal harbours, as has been mentioned. But the watchful and enterprizing enemy observing that some of the smaller bays on the windward side were open, contrived to land nearly two hundred men from two vessels that had been sent from St. Lucia. These vessels did not escape however, and owing to the vigilance and good conduct of Captain Warre, of the Mermaid, one of them was destroyed, and the other taken. This reinforcement found their way to the camp of the insurgents on the 9th of October, and on the night of the 15th, our post at Gouyave was attacked, and carried in a manner which reflects but little honour on those who had the charge of its defence, as appears by the following extract from a letter of the Committee of Correspondence

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in Grenada to the Agent for that island in London, dated 1 November, 1795.

The Committee, after expressing their fears that the earliest relief, with which they were flattered by the Agent's letters, might arrive too late, proceed thus:

“The loss of the important post we held at Gouyave, in a most disgraceful manner, justifies this despondency. To detail all the circumstances of this misfortune will be tedious. Suffice it therefore to state, that two corvettes, of eighteen and ten guns, having landed nearly two hundred men from St. Lucia on the 9th day of last month, no time was lost by them; but having found their way to the camp of the insurgents, they made an early and fatal experiment of the want of watchfulness, discipline, or some other military requisite, in our defenders of that post, by an attack upon it on the night of the 15th, in which they succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations, by a sudden and immediate discomfiture and retreat of our troops, without *the smallest* resistance. We had about 400 men at that post, under the command
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of Colonel Schaw, of the 68th regiment, including some of our black rangers. Of what number the assailants consisted it is not even easy to form a guess, from the precipitation with which the post was abandoned; but subsequent accounts state them at a much less number. What must make this affair appear more extraordinary to every man, is, that it has not even the extenuation of surprize, for information of their intention was received several hours before, and a reinforcement had sailed from St. George's, and was actually on its way for their relief. This event was rendered more melancholy from the sick in the hospital, nearly one hundred in number, and a number of slaves having been left as victims to the rancorous barbarity of a ferocious banditti.

The loss of this post has been attended with the abandonment of another, that of the Observatory, in order to enable our General to strengthen and support the remaining ones; and thus a ready access is opened to the enemy and insurgents for reinforcements of men and supplies of every

every kind. But the most fatal effect in its immediate consequences is the triumph it affords, and animation with which it inspires our enemy, while it serves to shew our slaves the impotency of that protection which has hitherto kept some of them steady to us, and will no doubt tend to alienate them from us. A melancholy reflection, when we add to it the consideration of the numbers of them into whose hands we have put arms.

In this situation, applications have been made in vain to General Leigh, who is now commander in chief at Martinico, and to the Admiral. The one has not men, nor the other ships; and the former rests secure in the assurances of General Nicolls, that he has men enough to maintain his posts until the arrival of the grand armament; notwithstanding, that gentleman had made a similar assertion, as we understand, some time ago, previous to the loss of Gouyave, by which, and the necessary relinquishment of another post in consequence thereof, it has been fully refuted."

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The account which Lieut. Col. Schaw gave of the evacuation of the post at Gouyave, in a letter to Brig. Gen. Nicolls, dated St. George's, October 17th, 1795, having appeared in most of the periodical publications, it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it in this place. But it ought to be mentioned, that the women who happened to be in Gouyave; were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, as well as the sick soldiers in the hospital. Happily the presence of the commander of the brigands, from St. Lucia, secured to them not only protection; but the most civil treatment, even from Fedon, who, on this occasion, put on the appearance of clemency and moderation. They were allowed to return to St. George's, and were conducted by an escort as far as the estate of Molinier, which is within two miles of that town. The sick in the hospital consisted of three subalterns and fifty-five privates of the 25th, and twenty-nine privates of the 68th regiment. Of these Lieut. Ash, and sixteen privates of the 25th, were able to

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join Col. Schaw's detachment; the rest fell into the hands of the enemy, and many of them perished from the want of every comfort, as well as medical aid, which their situation required. Lieut. Carr, though badly wounded, and most of the men who were missing, found their way to St. George's in a day or two afterwards; as did Capt. Augier, with most of the black rangers, who it seems had not been called off from their post at the *sugar works*, but left by themselves to sustain the attack of the enemy, which Col. Schaw, in his letter says, he conceived to have been commenced "by firing being heard at the latter mentioned place." Dr. Muir, already mentioned in the Narrative, and another person, were unfortunately drowned in attempting to escape in a boat. A schooner, loaded with provisions, fell into the hands of the insurgents, soon after they had taken possession of Gouyave. Another schooner was afterwards taken by two of their armed canoes. In these vessels, it is said, some of the negroes who had joined the
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the insurgents were sent to Guadaloupe, in consequence of a requisition made by the commissioner Hugues.

Some time in the month of November, a flag of truce was sent to Gen. Nicolls, by the officer commanding the St. Lucia brigands, who had landed as above mentioned. The purport of this message was, a proposal to carry on hostilities in future in the manner of civilized nations, and that the prisoners on both sides should be treated with humanity. To this message the General replied, that his Majesty's troops had always done so; and those of the enemy, who should fall into their hands, might rest assured of meeting with the mildest treatment, excepting only his Majesty's rebellious subjects, who had waged war against his government.

On the night of the 12th of December, some of the brigands, in armed canoes, attempted to cut out a schooner, then lying in the Bay of St. George's, and had nearly effected their purpose before they were discovered. A sailor belonging to the schooner, swimming on shore, gave the alarm; on

which two armed vessels got under weigh, and making for the canoes, obliged them to relinquish their prize; on board of which were taken two of the brigands, who had not time to escape with their companions in the canoes.

Towards the end of December, the insurgents came down in a large body from the mountains, and made two attacks on the strong post of Pilot Hill, at Grenville, commonly called *La Baye*. The letter which contains this information, is dated the 26th of the same month, and mentions the enemy's having been repulsed in both attacks with considerable loss. On the side of his Majesty's troops the loss is not stated. But the insurgents had not retreated far, and it was supposed, they would make another attempt as soon as they could bring artillery to bear upon the hill. Some apprehensions may therefore be entertained for the safety of this post, unless a reinforcement of men could be spared from Richmond Hill, to be sent by sea in armed vessels, together with such a supply

supply of ammunition and provisions as might be wanted.

Such are the latest and most authentic accounts that have been received respecting the state of affairs in that unfortunate Colony. With grief the Author must add, that since the date of the foregoing Narrative, many of the inhabitants and troops had been carried off by the ravages of the malignant fever,

This pestilence, it is said however, had begun to abate; and from the use of those precautions that fatal experience has pointed out, as necessary to prevent or counteract its influence, it is to be hoped that it has, ere this time, totally ceased.

Among those who have fallen victims to the dreadful disease, none was more to be lamented than that brave and active officer Major Maclean, of the 68th Regiment. He died at Gouyave, on the 12th of October last. Nearly about the same time, another excellent officer Major Farquharson, commanding the black rangers, was carried off. But the Author will
not

not swell this work, by adding to the melancholy list, the names of many others who have shared the same untimely fate.

By the same accounts we are informed, that about the end of December, the arrival of the promised relief was daily looked for with the most anxious expectation, both by the inhabitants of Grenada and St. Vincent. Nor would they have been disappointed, if a division of the grand armament had sailed from this country in September, agreeable to the first declared intention of Ministers. That this original plan was not adhered to is greatly to be lamented, and the more to be lamented, from the long delay which followed, and the disasters that happened to the fleet when it did sail. But they were disasters which He "who rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm," and He alone, could have averted!

But let us hope that all may yet be well. A great part of the fleet, with troops, have again sailed with a propitious wind. General Abercrombie, who went some time before in the *Arethusa*, a fast sailing frigate,

we

we have reason to suppose, may be at this moment * near the place of his destination. The troops that await his arrival, it is also to be hoped, will be sufficient for the wished-for purpose of relieving those desolated Islands, where the enemy, if not speedily subdued, will every day become more formidable, and more destructive.

To conclude.—May the future success of his Majesty's arms atone for past errors, and compensate for past misfortunes, in that part of the world! And may their success be crowned by a speedy, honourable, and lasting PEACE!

* MARCH 12, 1796.

THE END:

we have seen that the enemy is
 in a position to reach his destination.
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THE END

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